

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ahb*

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
BUFILE 100-391697

DATE: January 25, 1955
ahb

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W. D. Sullivan

On January 10, 1955, the "Washington Post and Times Herald" announced that the Fund for the Republic, Inc., was distributing two reference works on Communism in the United States; namely, "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States." These books were compiled under the direction of Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. Concerning this article, the Director noted, "What do we know of these two Books? H."

MASS

By memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman, dated January 11, 1955, a review of these two books was approved by the Director to be done by the Central Research Section. On January 19, 1955, Boston advised that these works would not be published until March, 1955. Boston is therefore being advised by attached letter to obtain one copy each of these books, when available, and forward to the Bureau, attention of the Central Research Section, at which time the reviews will be made.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter to Boston, requesting that one each of "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States" be forwarded to the Bureau, attention of the Central Research Section, when available, at which time they will be reviewed in accordance with the instructions received.

279,630
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/23/79 BY SP7 mcy/y

LLW:mjh
 (4)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Section Tickler
 1 -

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RECORDED - 9

INDEXED - 9

100-391697-5

JAN 27 1955

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 1-26-55
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 20 1955

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-89 BY 208 BTJ/STJ

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 13

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8-39P

DIRECTOR

....D E F E R R E D....

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC., INFORMATION CONCERNING. BUFILE ONE
HUNDRED DASH THREE NINE ONE SIX NINE SEVEN. ATTENTION CENTRAL RESEARCH
SECTION. REBUAIRTELS JANUARY ELEVEN AND EIGHTEEN LAST. INQUIRY
AT OFFICE OF FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC UNDER PRETEXT OF ACQUIRING BOOKS
FOR PRIVATE LIBRARY ELICITED INFORMATION THAT "BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE
COMMUNIST PROBLEM IN THE US" AND "DIGEST OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OF
COMMUNISM IN THE US" ARE TO BE PUBLISHED ABOUT END OF FEBRUARY,
FIFTY FIVE, AT PRICE OF FIVE DOLLARS EACH AND ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE
AVAILABLE IN RETAIL OUTLETS, BUT PERHAPS COPIES CAN BE SECURED
AT OFFICES OF FUND. IN VIEW OF INDEFINITE DATE OF PUBLICATION NO
LATER INQUIRIES FOR COPIES WILL BE MADE UACB.

KELLY

BOSTON ADVISED BY MAIL

HOLD

RECORDED-85

100-391697-60

Mr. Belmont

JAN 21 1955

JAN 21 1955

CENTRAL RESEARCH

100-391697

FEB 3 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: Jan. 21, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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A Washington City News ticker dated January 19, 1955, referred to the American Bar Association Study on Crime to be headed by Major General William J. Donovan. Since the Ford Foundation was mentioned, the following is set forth to show the background briefly of certain activities:

1. The American Bar Association Study is the one initiated under the Chairmanship of the late Associate Justice Jackson. The staff planning was handled by Professor Sherry of Oakland, California. Warren Olney was a member of this committee, as was Edgar Eisenhower. The preliminary survey made by Sherry was to define and lay out a plan of action. The Ford Foundation has now allocated \$200,000 to start financing this survey, which is said will take several years.

2. The Fund of the Republic. The Fund of the Republic was established by the Ford Foundation with a fifteen million dollar grant to study security and all of its ramifications. Congressman Clifford Case resigned his seat in Congress to take the Presidency of the Fund of the Republic, and when he resigned to run for the Senate, Robert Maynard Hutchins became President of the Fund for the Republic.

3. The subcommittee of which Bruce Smith is Chairman has no connection with either the American Bar Association Study or the Fund of the Republic. This is a subcommittee of the U. S. Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. This Commission was created by President Eisenhower to study the relationship between Federal agencies and state, county and local agencies. The first Chairman was Dean Manion of Notre Dame University, who subsequently resigned.

cc: Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 1-21-89 BY 20225108

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 INDEXED 10-1955

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LMAISON

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. Boardman ✓
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Belmont ✓
 Mr. Harbo ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Parsons ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tamm ✓
 Mr. Sizoo ✓
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Mr. Holloman ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

(NEW YORK)--THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION ANNOUNCED A "TREMENDOUS" RESEARCH PROJECT TO SURVEY ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES.

ABA PRESIDENT LOYD WRIGHT SAID THE STUDY WILL BE DIRECTED BY A SPECIAL COMMITTEE HEADED BY MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM J. DONOVAN. CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN SAID THE NATIONWIDE STUDY WILL BE "A TREMENDOUS TASK WHICH CAN BE OF GREAT BENEFIT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE." "IT IS A PIONEERING EFFORT, THE FIRST COMPLETE STUDY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION EVER UNDERTAKEN," WARREN SAID. IT WILL TAKE SEVERAL YEARS OF CONSCIENTIOUS WORK ON THE PART OF MANY PEOPLE IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE.

"BUT I CAN THINK OF FEW PROJECTS WHICH THE ORGANIZED BAR COULD UNDERTAKE WHICH WOULD EQUAL IT IN POTENTIAL BENEFITS. IN THE END, THE STUDY SHOULD PRODUCE ANSWERS TO MOST OF THE THINGS WHICH HAVE CAUSED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BE CONCERNED BOTH FOR THEIR SECURITY AND FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS."

THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE PROJECT, WHICH HAS BEEN PLANNED FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, WILL BE FINANCED BY A \$200,000 GRANT BY THE FORD FOUNDATION.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE RESEARCH STAFF WILL BE THE NEW AMERICAN BAR CENTER IN CHICAGO. THE SURVEY WILL BEGIN WITH A PILOT PROJECT COVERING SEVERAL SMALL STATES NOT YET DESIGNATED.

1/19--N629P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-21-89 BY 208 BTJ/ag

ENCLOSURE

100-391697 -

SAC, Boston

January 25, 1955

Director, FBI (100-391697)

2 - Orig. and copy
2 - SAC, New York
1 - Yellow file copy
1 - Section Tickler
1 -

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RECORDED-85

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

100-391697-61

EX-120

Reurlet 1/19/55 in above-captioned case. When the two books, "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States," are published, please obtain one copy of each for the Bureau, attention of the Central Research Section. New York may discontinue its efforts. Boston is instructed to follow this matter closely and expeditiously forward these books as soon as they are obtainable.

2 - SAC, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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Transmit the following ~~#####~~ message to:

FBI, BOSTON

1/19/55

EJD:plb

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.; INFORMATION CONCERNING. REBUAIRTEL

JAN. 12, 1955. CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY ADVISED THAT "BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES" AND "DIGEST OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES" ARE NOT EXPECTED TO BE PUBLISHED UNTIL MARCH, 1955. BOTH VOLUMES WILL BE PRINTED BY THE WARREN

PRINTING CO. OF BOSTON, AND WILL BE AVAILABLE THROUGH THIS COMPANY OR ALSO THROUGH FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, 1 EAST 54TH ST., NEW YORK CITY. BUREAU AND N.Y. WILL BE ADVISED IMMEDIATELY WHEN THESE VOLUMES HAVE BEEN OBTAINED.

END

100-29183

CC: N.Y. (Info), RM
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 BTJ/als

RECORDED-85

Mr. Belmont

EX-128

21 JAN 20 1955

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per

Memo to W. Sullivan
to Mr. Belmont
1-25-55 LW/mjh
Letter to Boston
cc - NY 1-25-55
LW/mjh

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 03-02-2011

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

- 2 - Orig. & dupl.
1 - William
Deputy Atty. Gen.
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Wells

January 27, 1955

Classification per OGA Letter dated 2/14/2011(p12)

DIRECTOR, FBI

PAUL F. LAZARFELD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Classified by SP2 BTJ/088
Declassify on: 7-2-39

The "Washington Post and Times Herald," January 24, 1955, carried an article which stated that the Fund for the Republic had announced that the Fund would conduct "a study of fear among teachers in American colleges and high schools." According to the article, the study will be conducted by Paul Lazarsfeld, Chairman, Sociology Department, Columbia University.

The following data concerning Dr. Lazarsfeld is being furnished for your information:

Dr. Lazarsfeld was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by this Bureau for the Office for Emergency Management in 1942, and the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by this Bureau for the State Department in 1951. On June 21, 1954, the Civil Service Commission was furnished reports of prior investigations concerning him as he was to be employed for ninety days with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). On November 3, 1954, the International Organizations Employees Security Board advised that a favorable advisory loyalty determination had been forwarded to UNESCO.

(77-23902, 123-9824, 138-2714)

The investigations of Dr. Lazarsfeld developed the following information concerning him:

He was born on February 13, 1901, at Vienna, Austria. He received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Vienna in 1923, and then studied a year in France. He has been married three times. Dr. Lazarsfeld arrived in the United States in 1933 on a traveling Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship and was naturalized in 1943. He has been employed as a teacher of mathematics and as an instructor in psychology in Vienna. From 1929 to 1937 he made studies in social psychology for the United States Government and American business concerns; from 1937 to 1940 he was Director of Radio Research at Princeton University; in 1940 he transferred to Columbia University as a Professor of Sociology and has been Chairman of Columbia University's Department of Sociology since 1950. He has written many articles and books. He resides at 252 West 85th Street, New York City.

Tolson
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 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

- 1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

BAW: 103 FEB 10 1955

(This is an attachment to memo from Belmont to Boardman, dated 1/27/55, re: PAUL F. LAZARFELD, BAW:mip)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 A confidential source, of unknown reliability, who was an associate of Dr. Lazarsfeld, advised that in the 1930's Lazarsfeld had lectured at the New School of Social Research, New York City, and that the source believed that School was dominated by Socialists and Marxists.

The "New York Times," of July 3, 1937, under the by-line, Vienna, Austria, stated that Dr. Marie Lazarsfeld, former wife of Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld, had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment after pleading guilty to aiding Socialists and possessing Socialist literature.

X The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service reflected that Lazarsfeld's first wife, Marie Jahoda, had received a divorce from him in 1934 on the grounds of adultery.

2 In 1942, associates of Lazarsfeld, reported that his second wife, Herta, had a pro-German attitude prior to World War II, and that her family in Austria were pro-German.

X Dr. Hadley Cantril, Princeton University, advised that in 1938 Lazarsfeld made a "pass" at Mrs. Cantril. Mrs. Cantril described Lazarsfeld as a "Viennese Romeo."

3 A (reliable informant) advised that in October, 1943, Lazarsfeld took part in the program of the Writers Congress held at the University of California, Los Angeles. This Congress, according to the California Committee on Un-American Activities, was sponsored by the Hollywood Branch of the League of American Writers (LAW). The LAW has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

4 The informant furnished a list of persons taking part in the Writers Congress and stated that they were either Communists or followers of the Party line. Lazarsfeld's name was included on that list. b7D

X In May, 1945, the Newspaper Guild of New York presented a free speech forum on Station WMCA, New York City. The main speakers were Earl Browder, former Communist Party official, and Lazarsfeld. Lazarsfeld made the statement that he started out by being a radical but was now getting more and more into a conservative position.

5 In 1949, (a reliable informant) advised that Lazarsfeld was Chairman of the Radio Committee, One World Award Committee. The One World Award Committee was reported in May, 1949, by a source of unknown reliability as being used as a Communist front.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The "Daily People's World," west coast Communist newspaper, May 22, 1950, stated that Lazarsfeld had announced his cancellation of a summer teaching appointment at the University of California in protest against the Regent's loyalty oath compromise.

(C) [redacted]
Lazarsfeld had been reported [redacted] as
(C) being a member of the Institute of Social Research, date not
indicated, [redacted] consisting of Communists
and fellow travelers. [redacted]
(C) Dr. Lazarsfeld advocated government ownership of property, and
approved the Communist form of government. [redacted] (S)

b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: PAUL F. LAZARSFELD
LOUIS HARRIS
Fund for the Republic

DATE: January 25, 1955

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
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Tele. Room
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Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-89 BY 2088 BT/JP

Reference is made to the Director's request for file checks on Paul Lazarsfeld, Chairman of the Columbia University Sociology Department, and Louis Harris, partner of Elmo Roper and Associates, as noted on a clipping from the January 24, 1955, "Washington Post and Times Herald." According to the clipping Robert Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, announced that in the late spring Lazarsfeld, assisted by Harris, will conduct "a study of fear among teachers in American colleges and high schools" for the Fund.

Attached is a summary of information in Bufiles concerning Lazarsfeld, which was prepared on January 11, 1955, upon the receipt of information that the Ford Foundation had announced a survey was to be made to reflect the attitude of Americans toward Communism and that Lazarsfeld was one of the six individuals expected to take part in that survey. Briefly, this memorandum reflects Lazarsfeld, born February 13, 1901, in Austria, was investigated in 1942 as applicant, Office for Emergency Management; 1951 as applicant for State Department (Voice of America); reports of prior investigations were furnished Civil Service Commission June 21, 1954, as Lazarsfeld was to be employed for ninety days with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The International Organizations Employees Security Board advised on November 3, 1954, that a favorable advisory loyalty determination had been forwarded to UNESCO. Lazarsfeld's first wife divorced him on grounds of adultery. His second wife's family was described as pro-German in 1942. He was reported to have made a "pass" at an associate's wife, and she described him as a "Viennese Romeo." Investigation of Lazarsfeld reflected that in 1943 he took part in a Writers Congress sponsored by the League of American Writers (cited by the Attorney General); his name was on a list, furnished by a reliable informant, of persons attending the Writers Congress who were considered to be either Communists or followers of the Party line; he was reported to have been associated with three other organizations described as pro-Communist; in 1945 he spoke with Earl Browder, a former Communist Party official, at a forum.

Attachment

EFT:mn

(8)

100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)

cc: 138-2714 (Lazarsfeld)

1 Mr. Boardman

1 Mr. Stanley

1 Mr. Belmont

1 Section Ticker

1 yellow

1 Mr. Baumgardner

19

RECORDED - 77

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LIATON

sponsored by the Newspaper Guild of New York; and in 1950 he cancelled a summer teaching appointment at the University of California in protest against the Regent's loyalty oath compromise. (62-60527-41248)

Louis Harris has not been investigated by the Bureau. On the basis of identifying data furnished by the New York office on January 24, 1955, Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning Harris. The New York City Credit Bureau records reflect that Harris resides at 19 Stuyvesant Oval, New York 9, New York, Apartment 9F, and as of June, 1947, he was employed by Elmo Roper Associates, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. Harris was 33 in October, 1954, married and has three children. These records reflect that the Danbury, Connecticut, Credit Bureau made inquiry concerning Harris in 1949. "Who's Who in America, 1954-55," reflects that Elmo Roper has long been connected with public opinion research projects and is a member of the board, the Fund for the Republic.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

If information on
Zanzfeld household
and D. A. G. & Roper
it should be.

1-yellow
1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Boardman
1-Section Tickler
1-
1-Mr. Stanley
1-Mr. Baumgardner
January 25, 1955

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

PAUL F. LAZARSFELD

Lazarsfeld was the subject of an applicant-type investigation for the Office for Emergency Management in 1942; an applicant-type investigation for the State Department (VOA) in 1951; and on 6-21-54 the Civil Service Commission was furnished reports of prior investigations concerning him as he was to be employed for ninety days with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). On 11-3-54 the International Organizations Employees Security Board advised that a favorable advisory loyalty determination had been forwarded to UNESCO. (77-23902, 123-9824, 138-2714)

Investigation of Lazarsfeld has developed the following information: He was born on 2-13-01 at Vienna, Austria. He received a Ph.D. degree from the University of Vienna in 1925, and then studied a year in France. He has been married three times. He arrived in the United States in 1933 on a traveling Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship and was naturalized in 1943. He has been employed as a teacher of mathematics and as an instructor in psychology in Vienna. From 1929 to 1937 he made studies in social psychology for the United States Government and American business concerns; from 1937 to 1940 he was Director of Radio Research at Princeton University; in 1940 he transferred to Columbia University as a Professor of Sociology and has been Chairman of Columbia University's Department of Sociology since 1950. He has written many articles and books. He resides at 252 West 85th Street, New York City.

[redacted] (whose identity should be concealed) advised that in the 1930's Lazarsfeld had lectured at the New School of Social Research, New York City, and that he, [redacted] believed that School was dominated by Socialists and Marxists.

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The "New York Times," 7-3-37, under the by-line, Vienna, Austria, stated that Dr. Marie Lazarsfeld, former wife of Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld, had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment after pleading guilty to aiding Socialists and possessing Socialist literature. The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service reflected that Lazarsfeld's first wife, Marie Jahoda, had received a divorce from him in 1934 on the grounds of adultery.

In 1942, associates of Lazarsfeld, reported that his second wife, Herta, had a pro-German attitude prior to the War, and that her family in Austria were pro-German. Dr. Hadley Cantril, Princeton University, advised that in 1938 Lazarsfeld

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ENCLOSURE
7-21-81
100-391647-62

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

made a "pass" at Mrs. Cantril. Mrs. Cantril described Lazarsfeld as a "Viennese Romeo."

A reliable informant advised that in October, 1943, Lazarsfeld took part in the program of the Writers Congress held at the University of California, Los Angeles. This Congress, according to the California Committee on Un-American Activities, was sponsored by the Hollywood Branch of the League for American Writers (LAW). The LAW has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. [redacted]

Another reliable informant furnished a list of persons taking part in the Writers Congress and stated that they were either Communists or followers of the Party line. Lazarsfeld's name was included on that list. [redacted] b7D

In May, 1945, the Newspaper Guild of New York presented a free speech forum on station WMCA, New York City. The main speakers were Earl Browder, former Communist Party official and Lazarsfeld. Lazarsfeld made the statement that he started out by being a radical but was now getting more and more into a conservative position.

In 1948 a reliable informant advised that Lazarsfeld was Chairman of the Radio Committee, One World Award Committee. This One World Award Committee was reported in May, 1949, by a source of unknown reliability as being used as a Communist front. [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

The "Daily People's World," west coast Communist newspaper, 5-22-50, stated that Lazarsfeld had announced his cancellation of a summer teaching appointment at the University of California in protest against the Regent's loyalty oath compromise.

(C) Lazarsfeld was reported to be a member of Institute of Social Research, (date not indicated) [redacted] consisting of (C) Communists and fellow travelers. [redacted] (C) Lazarsfeld advocated government ownership of property, and (C) approved the Communist form of government. [redacted] b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National Fund To Study U. S. Teacher Fears

NEW YORK, Jan. 23 (U.P.)—Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, today announced the Fund will conduct "a study of fear among teachers in American colleges and high schools."

"The study will seek a definitive answer to the much-debated question of whether or not American teachers are fearful and unable to do their best work because of their apprehensions," Hutchins said.

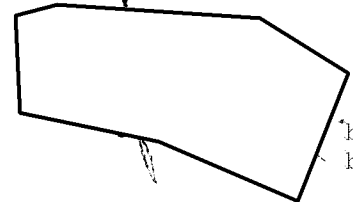
"The study will assess the degree of fear among teachers in such areas as the handling of controversial subjects in the classroom, their relationships with students, fellow teachers and administrative superiors, their feeling about expressing unpopular opinions in professional publications, their willingness to take part in extracurricular and community affairs, and the influence of tenure on academic freedom."

The study will be conducted by Paul Lazarsfeld, chairman of the Columbia University Sociology Department, assisted by Louis Harris, partner of Elmo Roper and associates.

Details of the study among high school teachers still are being worked out, and this project will begin in the late spring, Hutchins said.

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Harbo ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Parsons ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tamm ☒
Mr. Sizoo ☒
Mr. Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Mr. Holloman ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

W. H. P. B. H.



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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-18-89 BY 60335 Jaf

*What do our
files show on these?
H.*

*ASAC
more
called 3:20 p.
1/24/54*

*Memo to Boardman
ET: mmw
1-25-55*

100-391697-62

ENCLOSURE

Wash. Post and Times Herald 2
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____

Date: JAN 27 1954

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman *212*DATE: January 27, 1955 *Viper DS*FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AK*SUBJECT: CLINTON ROSSITER, et al
STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF
COMMUNISM, SPONSORED BY
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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Belmont	_____
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Reference is made to my memorandum dated January 24, 1955, (attached) which contained a summary of information in our files concerning Clinton Rossiter and 10 other individuals associated with him in making the captioned study.

Mr. Boardman noted on referenced memorandum, "1-26-55 - Recommend condensed memorandum to Attorney General and Rogers. LVB." The Director noted "Yes - H."

Attached hereto is a memorandum to the Attorney General furnishing him a summary of information in our files concerning Rossiter and the other individuals.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum be approved.

Attachment

cc Boardman
Belmont
Wells
Section Tickler file

BAW:pat
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-20-20 BY 60823 Uag

INDEXED -24

EX-125

FEB 1 1955

60 FEB 7 1955

INDEXED

ROUTING SLIP

Date 1/24/554
52)Memo To: **BUREAU**

<u>SAC</u>	Title: _____
<u>ASAC</u>	_____
<u>Supervisor</u>	_____
<u>Agent</u>	_____
<u>Steno</u>	_____
<u>Clerk</u>	_____
<u>Chief Clerk</u>	_____
<u>Special Employee</u>	File No. _____

ACTION DESIRED

<u>Assign to</u>	<u>Open Case</u>
<u>Acknowledge</u>	<u>Prepare Ticket</u>
<u>Bring File</u>	<u>Reassign to</u>
<u>Call Me</u>	<u>Recharge serials</u>
<u>See Me</u>	<u>Search and Return</u>
<u>Correct</u>	<u>Send serials</u>
<u>Delinquent</u>	<u>to</u>
<u>Expedite</u>	<u>Submit new charge-out</u>
<u>File</u>	<u>Submit report by</u>
<u>Leads need attention</u>	<u>Type</u>
<u>Read, Initial and</u>	<u>Return Serials</u>
<u>Return</u>	

Undeveloped leads in your district awaiting attention.

ATTN: ASST. DIRECTOR A. H. BELMONT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-89 BY 8831 [signature]

A.S.A.C. A.J. MARCHESSAULT
Office NYC

(In intra office use return this with notation as to action taken or explanation.)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Books—Authors

A recently completed survey on the views of Americans in regard to communism and civil liberties is being prepared for publication in book form. The survey was made under the sponsorship of the Fund for the Republic. Other viewpoints it sought were on fighting Russia, willingness to buy soap advertised by a Communist radio singer, reducing our atomic bomb production and reporting to the F.B.I. neighbors suspected of being Communists. The interpretation of the findings is being written by Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, who headed the fund's committee that planned and supervised the study. The book will be published in April by Doubleday.

MASS

Judy

Rod

[Redacted]

P. C. Young

b6
b7C

1955 JAN 22 1 33 PM '55

THE NEW YORK TIMES
1/22/55

*Lt to NY
Instruction
Punch
book
1/28/54
[Signature]*

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DATE 7-21-89 BY 2088 BTJ/agf

ENCLOSURE

100-391697-64

SAC, New York

Director, FBI (100-391697)

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

January 28, 1955

- 2 - original and copy
- ✓ 1 - yellow file copy
- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan
- 1 - section tickler
- 1 - J. F. Condon

The January 22, 1955, issue of The New York Times carried an article which set forth that Doubleday & Co., Inc., will publish in book form, in April, 1955, the results of a survey recently completed by the captioned organization. The book is being written by Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University.

The survey reportedly dealt with "the views of Americans in regard to communism and civil liberties" and included, among other topics, the question of "reporting to the F. B. I. neighbors suspected of being Communists."

You should make arrangements to purchase a copy of this book, the title of which has apparently not yet been decided upon, as soon as it is available and forward it to the Bureau, ~~noted for the~~ attention of the Central Research Section.

JFC:dje
(6)

NOTE:

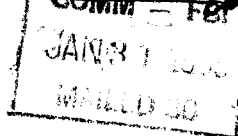
Route to Mr. N. P. Callahan of the Administrative Division prior to approval.

Two other books dealing with Communism in the United States, which are now being prepared by the Fund For The Republic, Inc., will be reviewed by the Central Research Section, when available, in accordance with a memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman, captioned as above and dated January 11, 1955, which was approved by the Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-21-89 BY 8808 BTJ/8



RECORDED - 98

INDEXED - 98

FEB 2 1955

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CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION
FBI

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Parsons
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Sizoo
- Mr. Winterrowd
- Mr. Holloman
- Mr. Gandy

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 03-02-2011

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Office Memorandum

VERNMENT

Classification per OGA Letter dated 2/14/2011(p24)

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: January 24, 1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

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SUBJECT: CLINTON ROSSITER, et al
STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF
COMMUNISM, SPONSORED BY
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Classified by ~~20885088~~
Declassify on: OADR
1-24-89

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

The "Washington Post and Times-Herald," January 14, 1955, contained an article stating that the Fund for the Republic had announced that it had allocated \$250,000 for "a factual study of the influence of Communism, past and present, on all aspects of American life." Clinton Rossiter, Professor of Government, Cornell University, was announced as heading a group of scholars who would make the study. The study supposedly will cover Communist influence in such fields as government, education, religion, labor, the social structure, opinion-making groups, mass media, the arts, literature and sciences. The group also plans a history of the Communist Party.

According to the article, Rossiter's associates in the study are: Daniel Aaron, Professor of English, Smith College; Daniel Bell, Labor Editor, "Fortune" magazine; Paul A. Carter, Instructor in History, Columbia University; Moshe Decter, Coauthor of "McCarthy and the Communists"; Donald Fleming, Assistant Professor of History, Brown University; Robert Iversen, Assistant Professor of History, Drake University; Earl Latham, Chairman, Political Science Department, Amherst College; John P. Roche, Associate Professor of Political Science, Haverford College; Ralph L. Roy, Methodist Minister; and David A. Shannon, Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University.

The Bureau has not investigated and our files contain no pertinent identifiable information concerning Carter, Fleming, Iversen, Roche, Roy, and Shannon.

Our files reflect the following information concerning the remainder of the group:

Daniel Aaron:

INDEXED
RECORDED

Aaron has never been investigated by the Bureau, however, his brother, David, was the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation.* In 1951, David Aaron admitted to Bureau Agents that he had been a member of the Communist Party. Since that time he has been a source of information for the San Diego office.

Attachments (4)

BAW:saw (6)

1 - Mr. Boardman

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Wells
1 - Sect. Tick. File

Row

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In 1938, one Daniel Aaron, a faculty member at Harvard University, was reported to have suggested that a petition be circulated requesting the extension of a teaching contract for a teacher alleged to be a Communist Party member.

A summary memorandum concerning Aaron is attached.

Daniel Bell:

No investigation has been conducted concerning Bell. He was born in New York City in 1919, attended City College of New York, and Columbia University; and formerly taught social science at the University of Chicago. Bell has long been a student of American Communism and Socialism. In 1952, his monograph on the history of Marxian Socialism was published by the Princeton University Press. From 1941-1944 Bell was managing editor of "The New Leader," a Socialist publication, and has been a contributing editor to that publication since 1938.

Bell, then Editor, "The New Leader," was contacted by Bureau Agents in 1942 regarding the Anarchist movement and regarding the New School for Social Research. Bell had been recommended by a member of "The New Leader" staff as having almost encyclopedic information concerning individuals who had been prominent in liberal movements. In 1943 and 1944 Bell spoke at rallies protesting the jailing of 18 individuals who were members of the Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. These 18 individuals were described as followers of Trotsky. In 1946 he was active in a movement to organize a 3rd Party which was reported to be under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Bell has criticized the Communist Party and Communist front groups in his speeches and writings. In 1951 he was a director of the League for Industrial Democracy, which reliable informants have advised is an organization of a Socialistic nature but not Communist.

Summary memorandum re Bell is attached.

Moshe Decter:

Decter was investigated in December, 1950, and January, 1951, as an applicant for the State Department (VOA). Reports furnished State Department January 8, 1951, and Central Intelligence Agency on November 16, 1953.

Decter's name in 1952 was in the possession of an individual who corresponded regularly with various persons concerning the Independent Socialist League, which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. In April, 1953,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

an associate described him as extremely liberal, and in 1954 another associate stated that Decter was sympathetic toward Communism. He is a coauthor of the book "McCarthy and the Communists." This book is very critical of Senator McCarthy, his methods, and the results obtained by his investigations.

Summary memorandum concerning Decter is attached.

Earl Latham:

Latham was investigated in 1954 under the Loyalty of Employees of the United Nations. Reports were furnished the Civil Service Commission on October 29, 1954. In 1931, he was investigated as an applicant for a Bureau messenger position. In November, 1932, he was advised that no appointments were being made at that time by the Bureau.

Investigation of Latham developed no derogatory information other than the fact that he might have been an illegitimate child.

A summary memorandum concerning him is attached.

Clinton Rossiter:

b1

- (C) Rossiter has not been investigated by this Bureau, however, our files reflect that [redacted]
- (C) [redacted] Clinton Lawrence Rossiter II, Professor at Cornell University, had been disapproved for a security clearance [redacted]
- (C) [redacted] Rossiter was disapproved for clearance as one of his references
- (C) had been listed as one of the individuals controlling the American Russian Institute, Hollywood, California. The American-Russian [redacted] X
- (C) Institute has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. No summary memorandum concerning Rossiter was prepared inasmuch as this is the only pertinent information concerning [redacted]
- RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

1/26/55 - Recommend condensed memorandum to Attorney General and Rogers.

LVB

mem to AG and
Rogers 1/28/55.
BW

Handwritten signature/initials

Handwritten signature/initials and stamp

January 19, 1955

MEMORANDUM

Re: DANIEL AARON *S. [unclear]*

Daniel Aaron has not been the subject of an investigation by this Bureau. However, our files contain the following information concerning him.

32 1/2
Aaron's brother, David Alan Aaron, has been the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation by the Bureau. David Aaron is an attorney in Buena Park, California, and an admitted former member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, California. On April 26, 1951, David Aaron appeared at the Santa Ana, California, Resident Agency of the Bureau at which time he admitted his prior membership in the Communist Party and gave his full history concerning his Party activities. Since that time, he has been a source of information for the San Diego Office of the Bureau and has been cooperative with Bureau Agents. During the investigation of David Aaron, no information was developed indicating that he and his brother, Daniel Aaron, were particularly close or that David Aaron had any influence over Daniel. (100-357881)

In January, 1954, during the Security of Government Employees investigation concerning one Kenneth Todd Young, Jr., of the Department of State, Calvin W. Stillman, Associate Professor, University of Chicago, who was an associate of Young while they were students at Harvard University, class of 1939, was interviewed and gave a signed statement. In that signed statement Stillman stated that during the academic year 1938 - 1939, faculty members leading classes in American History and Literature included Daniel Aaron and Granville Hicks. According to Stillman, it was common knowledge that Hicks, in addition to being a man of letters and an authority on American Literature, was a member of the Communist Party. Stillman further stated that shortly after the beginning of the 1938-1939 academic year at ^{Harvard} Harvard University, it was announced that ~~Harvard~~ ^{Harvard} would not ~~review~~ ^{renew} Hicks' contract and that several students, including himself, circulated a petition requesting extension of Hicks' contract on the grounds that political opinions were insufficient reasons for releasing a scholar from the faculty who otherwise was fully qualified for retention. Stillman further stated in his signed statement that he helped circulate the above-mentioned petition at the suggestion of certain faculty members including Daniel Aaron. (121-20223-27)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY 208 BTJ/ag

ENCLOSURE

encl #1

While lack of identifying data makes it impossible to positively state that the above-mentioned Daniel Aaron is identical with the Daniel Aaron now a faculty member at Smith College, it is believed that these individuals are identical.

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 19, 1955

DANIEL BELL

An article in the "Washington Post and Times Herald," dated January 14, 1955, stated that Daniel Bell, labor editor of "Fortune" magazine, was one of the men appointed by officials of the Fund for the Republic for "a factual study of the influence of Communism, past and present, on all aspects of American life."

BACKGROUND:

Classified by ~~28825108~~
Declassify on: OADR 7-24-89

No investigation has been conducted by the Bureau concerning the captioned individual. Information in our files indicates that Daniel Bell, managing editor from 1941 to 1944 of "The New Leader," described as a Socialist publication and official organ of the Social Democratic Federation (noncited), was born in New York City in 1919; he attended the College of the City of New York and Columbia University. Bell is presently Associate Editor of "Fortune" magazine and a lecturer in sociology at Columbia University. In 1952 Mr. Bell prepared a monograph on the history of Marxian Socialism in the United States which was published by the Princeton University Press in the compendium "Socialism and American Life" edited by Donald Egbert and Stow Persons. According to information in our files, Bell has long been a student of American Communism and Socialism. He formerly taught social science at the University of Chicago and has written widely for various magazines and professional journals. (61-7558-A; 100-3-A; 61-7559-2-7544 Copy-A)

LITERARY ACTIVITIES:

The following excerpts were taken from specific articles in our files which Daniel Bell has written for the publications named.

The March, 1949, edition of the monthly magazine entitled "Commentary," a publication of the American-Jewish Committee, contained an article by Daniel Bell entitled "America's Un-Marxist Revolution; Mr. Truman Embarks on a Politically Managed Economy." An analysis of Bell's article which appeared in a footnote stated "the ground swell of Liberalism that elected Harry Truman and the 81st Congress caught even the most experienced political observers off balance...." Daniel Bell suggests in his article the fact that "the march of American history and the evolution of our economic

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

encl #2

patterns have leaped ahead of our customary ways of thinking and writing about them. A revolution of politics has caught us unaware...." (61-7559-2-7544 Copy-A)

"The New Leader" for May 26, 1952, published an article by Daniel Bell entitled, "The Origins of American Communism." It was reported that the article was not intended as a definitive survey since it was a condensation of Bell's long essay entitled, "The Development and Background of Marxian Socialism in the United States," which was published in "Socialism and American Life," (mentioned previously). According to descriptive data, the article traces the Party's American origins up until the time it became a wholly pliant Kremlin tool in 1929. (100-3-A)

Copy to [unclear] 9/25/54

"The New Leader" for May 17, 1954, contained an article entitled, "'Hard' and 'Soft' Anti-Communism" by Daniel Bell. He began the article by calling attention to the appearance of Granville Hicks, a self-admitted past member of the Communist Party, before the Velde Committee early in 1953. Bell stated that even though Hicks' break with the Communist Party in 1929 was openly admitted, the newspaper headlines in Troy, New York, during the hearing were, "Granville Hicks Admits Past Red Ties Before House Probe." According to Bell it was his belief that during questioning before investigating committees ... "past conversations, distorted in recollection, become grounds for strange accusations." Bell pointed out that Hicks in his book, "Where We Came Out" attempted to "present his troubled thoughts on the inability of people today to see the past in perspective or the present in proportion."

Bell's article continued by asking the following questions:

The Communist party is, primarily, a conspiracy; but do we not need to see it in its just proportions? Should we not ask: How much infiltration was there, how much remains, what is the cost of rooting out Communists? Do not the gross stupidities in administering the new security regulations cripple scientific research more than they flush out Communists? To ask these questions is to run the risk, almost, of being called an anti-anti-Communist. But are they not relevant if one is concerned with political sanity?

Throughout the remainder of the article, Bell highlights some of his own ideas as well as those of Hicks concerning persons and publications who are "hard" and "soft" on the question of present-day Communism. (61-7558-A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTACTS WITH THE BUREAU:

Daniel Bell, as editor of "The New Leader," was contacted in 1942 relative to activities of the Anarchist movement in the United States. He furnished information concerning past activities of individuals and publications connected with the organization. He also advised that in his opinion the Anarchist movement was a dead one, serving only a small group who were hanging on out of sentimental attachments. (61-2311-427) X

In April, 1942, during the course of the Bureau's investigation of the New School for Social Research, Daniel Bell, managing editor of "The New Leader" was interviewed. Bell had been recommended by a member of the executive staff of "The New Leader" as being a man with almost encyclopedic information concerning individuals who had been prominent in liberal movements. Mr. Bell was very cooperative with the interviewing Agent at the time. Our investigation concerning the above-mentioned school reflected that it was not considered to be Communist controlled or influenced, and the faculty was predominately non-Communist. (65-6656-18)

On July 17, 1950, Victor Riesel of the Post-Hall Syndicate and editor of the column "Inside Labor," advised Mr. Nichols that he had referred Daniel Bell, labor editor of "Fortune" magazine, to him for information on internal security. Bell was preparing an article for "Fortune" magazine. Riesel commented, "He's a right good guy, whose discretion I always trust." (62-82195-68) X

On December 23, 1953, George Harris of "Time" magazine contacted Mr. Nichols' office and said that Daniel Bell who handles all the labor news for "Fortune" magazine had been assigned the task of writing a comprehensive piece on Communism in industry. Mr. Bell had stated to Harris that he realized our files were confidential and we could not give him specific answers to his questions; however, he expressed a desire to come to the Bureau and discuss two issues which he had in mind; namely, (1) the strength of Communism in American industry and (2) the measures already taken or proposed to cope with this problem. +

Representatives of "Fortune" were advised that the Bureau would be unable to be of assistance in this matter, but the Director noted that the questions raised would be suitable for a Bureau memorandum on the subject. In accordance with the Director's request, the Central Research Unit in conjunction with the Internal Security Section prepared a memorandum dated January 11, 1954, entitled, "Communist Strength in American Industry and Measures to Cope With This Problem," which dealt with questions raised by Mr. Bell. (61-7562-1664) X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AFFILIATION WITH ORGANIZATIONS SEEKING FREEDOM OF IMPRISONED TROTSKYITES:

On December 16, 1943, approximately four-hundred members of the Socialist Workers Party (cited by the Attorney General) and friends attended a rally at the Manhattan Center in New York City to protest the jailing of eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party under provisions of the Smith Act. It was reported that these individuals were followers of Leon Trotsky. The above rally was held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee (noncited). Among the speakers were Aaron F. Gilmartin, a representative of the Worker's Defense League (noncited), Max Shachtman, National Secretary of the Worker's Party (now known as the Independent Socialist League which has been cited by the Attorney General) and Daniel Bell, editor of "The New Leader." The speakers all denounced the imprisonment of the eighteen persons and promised to back up the fight of the Civil Rights Defense Committee in freeing them and having the Smith Act repealed. (100-37551-63; 100-16-35-134)

In 1942 a confidential informant of known reliability advised that the Civil Rights Defense Committee was a group organized to aid the eighteen followers of Leon Trotsky who were tried for sedition in Minneapolis, Minnesota, under the provisions of the Smith Act.

On June 8, 1944, Daniel Bell was one of the speakers at a mass meeting of the Civil Rights Defense Committee held at Hotel Diplomat, New York City, the purpose of which was to urge freedom for above-mentioned individuals. It was stated all the speakers "reaffirmed their unconditional support for the imprisoned Trotskyites as working-class victims of Capitalist injustice." It was also reported that without exception all of the speakers attacked the Communist Political Association, the "Daily Worker" and anti-Labor elements in the United States. (100-37551-63, 73)

MISCELLANEOUS:

In July, 1940, Daniel Bell wrote an article for the July 13, 1940 issue of "The New Leader," entitled, "Liberals Shun American Youth Congress Parley as a Communist Front." Bell stated that nearly all the original representatives who were carrying on day-to-day field work of the American Youth Congress were former members of the Young Communist League. The American Youth Congress has been cited by the Attorney General. (61-10537-3)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On March 19, 1943, Daniel Bell, managing editor of "The New Leader," wrote a letter to the editor of the New York newspaper "PM" bitterly criticizing that newspaper for its praise of the motion picture, "Mission to Moscow." Bell stated that by giving support to the picture, "PM" was apparently lending a hand in the foolish, fruitless and dangerous campaign to bathe Soviet history in sweetness and light." (94-4-5705-A)

In October, 1943, Dorothy Rose Blumberg, Administrative Secretary of the City Council of the Communist Party, in a conversation with Dorey A. Wilkerson, Chairman of District #34 of the Communist Party, mentioned that Daniel Bell (not further identified) was a member of the Communist Party. (100-3-59-203 [Tesur])

The "Daily Worker" of January 14, 1946, published an article entitled, "A Third Party to Knife Real Third Party," in which it stated that Daniel Bell, formerly of the publication "The New Leader," was one of the individuals who signed a call for a Midwest Exploratory Conference on Independent Political Action, (noncited). The article stated the conference was to take preliminary steps toward the establishment of a third party to be held in Chicago during the following February under the auspices of the Socialist Party. (100-3-72)

A confidential informant of known reliability advised that in April, 1946, a secret conference was held at the University of Chicago for the purpose of organizing a third party. It was reported that the purpose of this party was part of a program and long-range strategy of the National Council for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee to send Liberals and Progressives to Congress who would fight for the things the committee desired. It was reported that Daniel Bell, University of Chicago, appeared among the leaders who were participating in various discussions concerning the third party. (100-95014-625)

Daniel Bell was faculty advisor of the Marxist Club in the University of Chicago during the Autumn Quarter of 1947. The stated purpose of the club was to discuss, to contrast and correlate Marxist's methods in social science with other philosophies. (100-3-76-279)

The January 19, 1948, issue of "Labor Action," a publication reflecting the interests of the Socialist Youth League and the Workers Party (both cited by the Attorney General) at the University of Chicago, announced that a debate was scheduled for January 28 on the question, "Does Stalinism flow from Bolshevism?" Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, was debating on the negative side of the question, and Daniel Bell, an instructor in social science at the University, was upholding the affirmative. (100-344527-20 page 21)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to information furnished the Bureau in February, 1951, the name of Daniel Bell appeared on an undated letterhead of the League for Industrial Democracy as one of the directors of the organization. Reliable informants have advised that this organization is of a socialistic nature, and unlike Communist front groups, is generally liberal rather than Marxist. It has been reported that the organization promotes the idea of extending political freedom into industrial fields and encourages liberal management cooperation rather than Communist conflict. (61-524-87, 89)

In October, 1951, the name of Daniel Bell appeared as a member of the National Committee of Friends of Fighters for Russian Freedom, an organization whose stated purpose was to engage in a positive struggle against the world-wide Communist conspiracy. (105-14179-9)

January 18, 1955

~~MOSHE DECTER~~

Decter was investigated during December, 1950, and January, 1951, as an applicant for the State Department (Voice of America). Reports were furnished State Department on January 8, 1951, and CIA on November 16, 1953.

Decter was born on October 14, 1921, at Farrell, Pennsylvania. He attended City College of New York, 1942-43; received a B.A. degree in 1948 and a Ph.D. degree in 1951 from the New School for Social Research, New York City. From 1943 to 1946 he served in the United States Army.

He has been employed by the Labor Zionist Organization, New York City, as a public relations specialist during 1946; as an instructor, Tel Noar Institute, Hampstead, New Hampshire, 1947; as Executive Director, the Vinaver Chorus, New York City, 1948-49; and as a free lance writer, "Commentary Magazine," New York City, 1949-50.

He is married and as of 1951 resided at 237 West Eleventh Street, New York City.

In February, 1952, an informant of known reliability advised that Decter's name was in the possession of one Chalmers Kittoe Stewart, and that Stewart corresponds regularly with various individuals concerning the Independent Socialists League, which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (NK-1860-S, 123-7027)

In April, 1953, during another investigation, Mr. Joel Blake, Voice of America, New York City, advised that Decter, an employee of the Voice of America, was one of a group at the Voice of America who were extremely liberal. (121-43744-7)

In May, 1953, during the course of another investigation, Paul M. Deac, United States Department of State, (Roumanian section) gave a signed statement in which he listed the names of six individuals described by him as being sympathetic toward Communism. One of the individuals listed was Decter.

In 1954 Decter coauthored a book sponsored by the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, entitled "McCarthy and the Communists." This book was critical of Senator McCarthy's investigating methods and of the results of his investigations. (100-413516)

B. A. Wells
(7)

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DATE 9/15/89 BY 00851/08

encl #3

January 18, 1955

EARL GANSON ~~LATHAM~~

Latham, Chairman, Political Science Department, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, was investigated in 1954 under the Loyalty of Employees of the United Nations program. Reports were furnished Civil Service Commission on October 29, 1954. In 1931 he was investigated as an applicant for a Bureau messenger job. He requested that his application be held in abeyance for one year in order that he might attend school. On November 7, 1932, he was advised that no appointments were being made.

Latham was born October 28, 1907, at New Bedford, Massachusetts. He received an A.B. degree from Harvard in 1931; attended Harvard Law School, 1932-33; and received a Ph.D. degree from Harvard in 1935.

He was employed by the Social Science Research Council, Harvard University, 1935-36; Radcliffe College, 1938-40; University of Minnesota, 1940-42; United States Bureau of the Budget, 1942-47; 1948 to present, Amherst College. During the above periods of employment, Dr. Latham has taught in other schools during the summer and has served as a consultant to the United Nations Statistical Office, to the Office of Price Stabilization, and the Office of Defense Mobilization.

He is married, has two children, and resides at 22 Orchard Street, Amherst, Massachusetts.

During the investigation of Dr. Latham in 1931, the records of the City Clerk's Office, New Bedford, Massachusetts, showed that Irene Ganson gave birth to an illegitimate child, Earl Durfee Ganson, on October 28, 1907. On February 26, 1923, the name of Earl Durfee Ganson was changed to Earl Gordon Ganson. It is noted that Latham's mother's name is Irene. (138-2818; 67-20273)

B. A. Wells:pyp
(7)

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DATE 7-24-89 BY SSA BTJ/af

encl # 4

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ball, Daniel

Supervisor _____

Room _____

R# _____

Date 1-14

Searcher _____

Initial 282FILE NUMBER

NR	42-7361	
NR	44-2652	
NR	25-322048	
NR	31-30822	
NR	62-38666	123X
NR	100-33985	2
NR	100-262175-	9
NR	100-268519-	8
I	100-3-724	A - DW 1/14/46
I	61-2311-	427
I	100-95014-	625
NR	18-1735-	1
ST	100-7660-	3749
NR	105-28820-	1
NR	100-16-35-	154
NR	94-4-514-	14
NR	121-4-	197982 (1)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-79 BY SP-3 JH

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Bell, Daniel

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 1-14 Searcher Initial 8280FILE NUMBERSERIAL

<u>I</u>	<u>94-4-5705-A - PM</u>	<u>3-19-43</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>61-7558-A - New header</u>	
		<u>5-23-50?</u>
		<u>(Try 5-23-52)</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>100-344527-</u>	<u>20 p 21</u>
<u>NP</u>	<u>123-10321-</u>	<u>4 p 6</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>100-3-76-</u>	<u>279 p 7</u>
<u>NR</u>	<u>116-406936-</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>NR</u>	<u>25-1643-2-</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>105-14179-</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>NR</u>	<u>94-1-2479-</u>	<u>9X</u>
<u>NR</u>	<u>62-29804-</u>	<u>284</u>
<u>NR</u>	<u>100-3-60-</u>	<u>550</u>
<u>NR</u>	<u>100-66587-</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>100-3-A - New header</u>	<u>5-26-50</u>
<u>NR</u>	<u>101-4053 -</u>	<u>1248 p 3</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>61-10537-</u>	<u>3 (2)</u>

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Bell, Daniel

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 1-14 Searcher Initial 523FILE NUMBERSERIAL

NP	100-184233-	9
NP	100-352783-	5, p 84
I	61-524-87	encl p 125,
	6	
NP	62-68338-	120
NP	64-24310-	11
NP	114-465-	1
I	65-6656-	18
I	100-16-35-	178
NI	98-11265-	1
I	62-82195-	68
	65-56402-	810, 9
SI	124-4103-	14 p 25, 26, 43
NP	100-72924-	203 X1
NP	123-2337-	38
NP	116-46701-	2
NP	100-135-5-	28 (3)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Bell, Daniel

Supervisor _____

Room _____

R# _____

Date 1-14

Searcher

Initial 523

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

PI	100-3-59-	203
SI	100-9749-	121
NP	61-7598-	165
NI	100-92004-	282
I	61-7559- 2-	7544
NP	61-6611-	1
I	100-5557-	258 and 211
SI		179, 188, 209, 221
I	100-37551-	63, 23
NP	100-356521-	11, 9
	94-42840-	4
I	61-7562-	1665
	DANIE B.	
SI	100-107270-	8
	Believe This is only bld up	
	identical with subject (4)	

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher _____

Initial _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

however under Daniel

W. The following files

may be good,

R- 124-8241

R- 62-32819

Approx 50 Refs on

Buildups not listed

5

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-2a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Harold Louis

Supervisor [redacted] Room 7638

R# 1 Date 1-24 Searcher Initial 5212

(16)

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NR 73-8356

NR 167-96606 Personnel

NR 42-26796

NR 42-10760

NR 100-182950

NR 25-266289

NR 25-326840

NR 15-8100

NR 42-19262

NR 31-66133

NR 26-116020

NR 100-92922

NR 62-57937

NR 70-9921

NR 100-55935

NR 43-13491

NR 31-67556

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-89 BY 88085 JLB/SP
[signature]

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Lewis, Louis

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 1-24 Searcher Initial 5212FILE NUMBERSERIALNR 17-329281 PersonellNI 25-166487 _____NR 26-78756 _____NR 52-58825 _____NR 26-77666 _____LT 31-66133 see LTLNR 39-0-52226 _____NR 100-351006-3-2394NI 100-145331-14 _____NI 100-326052-1 _____NI 100-348196-a Point 3-30-47NI 65-1295-250 _____NI 100-145331-20 _____NI 100-344537-121p49 writtenNR 100-368835-6 _____NR 100-34864-4p5-54 NRNR 100-3-4-2559 (2)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

102a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Harris, Louis

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 1-24 Searcher Initial 5212FILE NUMBERSERIAL

NY	100-339008-109p657
NI	65-54689-3
NI	62-64857-351
NR	121-24360-17p22
NR	100-344844-11
NR	65-57913-221
NR	100-389232-1
NR	100-400841-3
NR	100-388446-2
NI	100-3-28-1818-19
NR	100-394765-1
NR	100-7046-1281p9
NR	65-57913-327
NR	100-327855-2p44
NR	61-7341-31-102p6
NR	121p1, 121p3
NR	100-3-28-259

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Rarris, Louis

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 1-24 Searcher Initial 5212

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

AR	91-408-78	
NR	97-444-35	
NR	116-408302-16	
NH	100 ³⁻⁴ -73758-108X	
NI	100-36491-216	
NV	100-7801-22264	
NH	61-7341-37-1116196	
NH	100-8482-10	
NR	65-50922-12	
NH	15-16507-463	
NR	61-7586-345	
NR	100-3-28-47668	
NR	121-40423-2	
NR	39-0-12435	
NH	100-7326-326619	
NH	116-275211-2	
NR	100-344844-7 (4)	

Wardlaw

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Lewis, Louis

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 1-24 Searcher Initial 5212FILE NUMBERSERIALNK 61-777-34-77NK 65-59949-20 p18NK 87-22550-4NK 61-777-31-14NK 96-0-1161NK 91-1878-634NK 31-71024-4NK 100-348196-5 p2NK 100-348196-A WP 3/30/47NK " " WITH 10/30/49NK " " NYJ 2/24/48NK 100-335017 43 p10NK 97-12839

(5)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

b6 4
b7C

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Paul Felix Lagomarcino
Supervisor [Redacted] Room 7633
R# Date 1-24 Searcher Initial J. 25

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

<u>✓</u>	<u>123-9824</u>	<u> </u>
<u>+</u>	<u>138-2714</u>	<u>6-29-54</u>
<u>✓</u>	<u>62-60527-41248</u>	<u>Sum</u>
	<u>1-11-55</u>	<u> </u>
<u>✓</u>	<u>77-23902</u>	<u> </u>
<u>✓</u>	<u>123-14980-16</u>	<u>4, 14, 15</u>
	<u>19, 24, 26, 27, 35, 36</u>	<u> </u>
	<u>Mrs Paul Felix</u>	<u> </u>
<u>✓</u>	<u>123-14980</u>	<u>only main listed on apace</u>
	<u>Paul</u>	<u> </u>
	<u>77-60560-43</u>	<u> </u>
<u>✓</u>	<u>100-80318-7</u>	<u> </u>
	<u>133-162-5</u>	<u> </u>
	<u>one</u>	<u> </u>
	<u>100-163904-226</u>	<u> </u>
	<u>with 138 main</u>	<u>6-29-54</u>
	<u>neg. in Alpha Room</u>	<u> </u>

4-11
(10-8-54)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2-1-55, 1954

TO: ☒ Director
☒ Mr. Tolson, 5744
Mr. Boardman, 5736
Mr. Belmont, 1742
Mr. Harbo, 5256
Mr. Mohr, 5517
Mr. Parsons, 7121
Mr. Rosen, 5706
Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB
Mr. Keay, 1742

Mr. Nichols, 5640
Mr. McGuire, 5642
Mr. Wick, 5634
Mr. DeLoach, 5636
Mr. Morgan, 5625

Mr. Jones, 4236
Mr. Leonard, 6222IB
Mr. Waikart, 7204
Mr. Eames
Mr. Wherry, 5537

See Me
For your info

Mr. Sizoo, 5744
Miss Gandy, 5633
Mr. Holloman, 5633

Records Section
Pers. Records, 6631
Reading Room, 5531
Mail Room, 5533
Teletype, 5644
Code Room, 4642
Mechanical, B-114
Supply Room, B-118
T-25

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

I think it would be a good idea to advise

☐ off the record briefly of the
background of some of the individuals

working on the Ford Foundation Survey.

This would at least have the effect of
alerting him.

GR
L. A. Nichols
Room 5640, Ext. 691

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-89 BY 503 (531028)

ENCLOSURE

7 FEB 19 1955

51 MAR 7 1955

J. Stanley

SAC, New York

February 18, 1955

Director, FBI

**ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
SURVEY OF FEDERAL LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAMS
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING**

ReButel call December 29, 1954, and airtel
December 30, 1954.

The Bureau has received information that
Dudley Bonsal has been appointed to head the committee
appointed by the captioned Association to conduct the
survey of the Federal Loyalty-Security Programs.
Harold M. Kennedy, attorney with the law firm of
Burlingham, Hopper and Kennedy, 27 William Street,
New York 5, New York, has also been appointed as a
member of this committee. (Letter from Kennedy
dated 2/10/55)

You should discreetly determine the
identities of others named to this committee and
check your files for any information concerning
them. This check should be expeditiously handled
and the results thereof submitted to the Bureau,
attention Liaison Section.

You should continue to be alert to any
activities of this committee appointed by the
Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

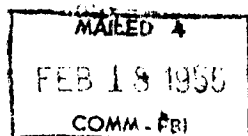
EPT:pyg
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 208 BTP/BP

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 1-1564-25

FEB 23 1955

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Ladd _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Quinn Tamm _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



5 MAR 1 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: February 14, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Survey of Federal Loyalty-Security Programs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-88 BY SP8 BTJ/pf

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

With reference to the attached letter from Harold Kennedy dated February 10, 1955, you requested background information concerning the committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York which is to deal with loyalty problems. Kennedy's letter indicates the committee is headed by Dudley Bonsal. For your information, the Domestic Intelligence Division has been handling material pertaining to the Fund for the Republic and I have been advised that although files have been searched for information concerning the Fund for the Republic, Association of the Bar of the City of New York and several individuals connected therewith, the complete roster of the committee is not known and files have not been checked for information concerning committee members.

An article appeared in the December 22, 1954, issue of "New York Times" entitled "City Bar to Study Loyalty Reviews." The article indicates that the Fund for the Republic had made a \$100,000 grant for a committee of the City Bar Association to examine the Federal Loyalty-Security programs. According to the article, Robert Maynard Hutchins, President, Fund for the Republic, considers the project to examine the loyalty programs as "the number one priority problem in the Fund's field." You will recall that Hutchins in a lecture made December 1, 1953, attacked the FBI, the Attorney General, opposed outlawing the Communist Party and stated that all limitations upon the Communists should be removed.

Wilbur Hugh Ferry, Vice President, has not been the subject of a Bureau investigation. In February, 1945, an informant advised that he was a member of an advisory committee of publicity men who met with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee officials concerning a fund-raising campaign.

Attached are copies of memoranda dated December 30, 1954, and January 12, 1955, (with attachments), and a memorandum to the Attorney General dated January 19, 1955, concerning the Fund for the

Attachments (4)

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Belmont

ATTENTION:

GMP:mbk

(5)

Room 7633

13 FEB 25 1955

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1955
DIRECTOR

CRIME REC.

b6
b7C

February 12, 1955

Republic reflecting the results of the file review concerning numerous individuals.

HAROLD M. KENNEDY:

You will recall that Kennedy was in charge of the Government's prosecution of Duquesne Spy Ring case, has been a close friend of the Bureau for some time and is currently on the Director's birthday list. Kennedy formerly served as District Court Judge in New York. (64-33837 and 77-7104)

DUDLEY BONSAI:

Martindale-Hubbell contains a listing for one Dudley B. Bonsal who was born in 1906 and who has served as the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Law for the City of New York Bar Association. Although Bureau files contain no information positively identifiable with Bonsal, on the basis of available identifying data, it is noted that a person by the same name appears on a State Department list identifying the U. S. Delegation to the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace held at Mexico City February 21, 1945. ^{hus} Bonsal was identified as a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for American Republic Affairs, Department of State. Other references indicate a person named Dudley Bonsal lived on Cathedral Avenue in Washington, D. C., in 1942. It would appear that the indices of the New York Office might contain additional information concerning the Dudley Bonsal mentioned in Kennedy's letter. (64-5001-257)

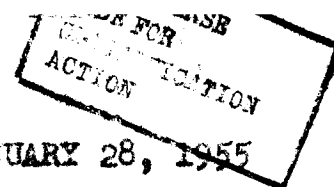
RECOMMENDATION:

That the Domestic Intelligence Division identify the members of the Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York dealing with Loyalty problems and prepare summary memoranda concerning these individuals. It is suggested the files of the New York Office be searched for information not available at the Bureau.

Being handled
Let to N.Y. 2/18/55
EFT: pyg

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 03-02-2011

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Classification per OGA Letter dated 2/14/2011(p64)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

JANUARY 28, 1955

DIRECTOR, FBI
100-391697-65

CLINTON ROSSITER, et al
STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF
COMMUNISM, SPONSORED BY
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Classified by **283073/08**
Declassify on: **OAD 9-15-88**

The "Washington Post and Times-Herald," of January 14, 1955, contained an article stating that the Fund for the Republic had announced that it had allocated \$250,000 for a factual study of the influence of Communism, past and present, on all aspects of American life." Clinton Rossiter, Professor of Government, Cornell University, was announced as heading a group of scholars who would make the study. The study supposedly will cover Communist influences in such fields as government, education, religion, labor, the social structure, opinion-making groups, mass media, the arts, literature and sciences. The group also plans the preparation of a history of the Communist Party.

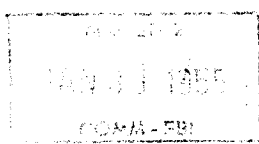
According to the article, Rossiter's associates in the study will be: Daniel Aaron, Professor of English, Smith College; Daniel Bell, Labor Editor, "Fortune" magazine; Paul A. Carter, Instructor in History, Columbia University; Moshe Decter, Coauthor of "McCarthy and the Communists"; Donald Fleming, Assistant Professor of History, Brown University; Robert Iversen, Assistant Professor of History, Drake University; Earl Latham, Chairman, Political Science Department, Amherst College; John P. Roche, Associate Professor of Political Science, Haverford College; Ralph L. Roy, Methodist Minister; and David A. Shannon, Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University.

For your information, there is set out below a brief summary of information in our files concerning the above individuals:

The Bureau has not investigated and our files contain no pertinent identifiable information concerning Carter, Fleming, Iversen, Roche, Roy, or Shannon.

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Harbo
- Acot
- Parsons
- osen
- Tom
- Stoo
- Whiteford
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

DAW:pat
(9)



memo Belmont to Boardman
1/27/55 (BAW/PAT)

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20 3 15 PM '55
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16 4 15 PM '55

CLINTON ROSSITER:

(C) Rossiter has not been investigated by this Bureau, however, our files reflect that [redacted] b1

(C) [redacted] Clinton Lawrence Rossiter II, Professor at Cornell University, had been disapproved for a security clearance [redacted] Rossiter was disapproved for clearance as one of his references had been listed as one of the individuals controlling the American-Russian Institute, Hollywood, California. The American-Russian Institute has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (C) [redacted] X

DANIEL AARON:

Aaron has never been investigated by this Bureau, however, his brother, David Aaron, was the subject of a security-type investigation instituted by this Bureau in 1948 and closed in 1951. In 1951, David Aaron admitted to Bureau Agents that he had in the past been a member of the Communist Party.

In 1938, one Daniel Aaron, a faculty member at Harvard University, was reported to have suggested that a petition be circulated requesting the extension of a teaching contract for a teacher alleged to be a Communist Party member.

DANIEL BELL:

No investigation has been conducted concerning Bell. He was born in New York City in 1919, attended City College of New York, and Columbia University; and formerly taught social science at the University of Chicago. Bell has long been a student of American Communism and Socialism. In 1952, his monograph on the history of Marxian Socialism was published by the Princeton University Press. From 1941-1944 Bell was managing editor of "The New Leader," a Socialist publication, and has been a contributing editor to that publication since 1938.

Bell, then Editor, "The New Leader," was contacted by Bureau Agents in 1942 regarding the Anarchist movement and regarding the New School for Social Research. Bell had been recommended by a member of "The New Leader" staff as having almost encyclopedic information concerning individuals who had been prominent in liberal movements. Bell was cooperative during the interviews. In 1943 and 1944 Bell spoke at rallies protesting the jailing of 18 individuals who were members of the Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. These 18 individuals were described as followers of Trotsky. In 1946 he was active in a movement to organize a 3rd Party which was reported to be under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Bell has criticized the Communist Party and Communist front groups in his speeches and writings. In 1951 he was a director of the League for Industrial Democracy, which reliable informants have advised is an organization of a Socialist nature but not Communist.

MOSHE DECTER:

Decter was a subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by this Bureau in December 1950 and January 1951. No derogatory information was developed during that investigation.

Decter's name, in 1952, was in the possession of an individual who corresponded regularly with various persons concerning the Independent Socialist League and who was described as a member of that league. The Independent Socialist League has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In 1953 and in 1954 Decter was described by associates as being extremely liberal and as being sympathetic toward Communism. He is coauthor of the book "McCarthy and the Communists." This book was very critical of Senator McCarthy, his methods, and of the results obtained by his investigations.

EARL LATHAM:

Latham was a subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by this Bureau in 1954. In 1931, he was investigated as an applicant for the job of messenger with this Bureau. Investigations of Latham developed no subversive information concerning him.

2 cc Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *LB*

DATE: February 3, 1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT *AB*SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
BUFILE 100-391697

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-88 BY 2083 J2108

An article which appeared on page 7, columns 3 and 4, of the January 31, 1955, issue of the Daily Worker, east coast Communist newspaper, set forth that the captioned organization is in the process of publishing 11 books dealing with the general subject of "Communism and civil liberties" in the United States.

The article also notes that Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer, of Harvard University; Moshe Deeter, described as a "political writer;" Ralph L. Roy, a Methodist Minister; Daniel Bell, of the staff of Fortune; and Professors David A. Shannon and Paul A. Carter, of Columbia University, are writing books in connection with this project.

The article notes that Clinton Rossiter, of Cornell University, who is directing the project, "has the preconceived opinion that Communism is a 'menace,' " and concludes by pointing out that "none of the authors are Marxists and cannot be expected to advocate Marxism. The question is: Will they defend the right of Marxists to speak, write and advocate their ideas freely?"

RECOMMENDATION:

None; for your information. The Central Research Section is following closely the publication of this series of works on Communism, and these will be reviewed as soon as they are available.

JFC:dje
(6)

1 Mr. L. V. Boardman
1 Mr. A. H. Belmont
1 Mr. R. R. Roach
1 section tickler
1 J. F. Condon

RECORDED - 71
INDEXED - 71

FEB 7 1955

67 FEB 11 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Director, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
Survey of Blacklisting in
the Entertainment Industry

2 - orig. & dupl.
1 - J. Rogers (Deputy AG)
1 - B. Nichols
1 - L. V. Boardman
1 - A. H. Belmont

February 21, 1955

1 - F. J. Baumgardner
1 - [redacted]
1 - section [redacted]
2 - yellow (100-391697)
(100-401403 (Jacobs))

b6
b7C

In a speech before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., on January 26, 1955, Robert M. Hutchins, President of the captioned organization, outlined several projects which have been sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. In addition to these projects concerning which information was furnished to you by memoranda dated January 10, 18, 27, and 28, 1955, Hutchins noted that the Fund was sponsoring an investigation of blacklisting in the entertainment industry to be headed by John Cogley, former executive editor of "The Commonwealth," a lay Catholic weekly magazine. In this survey they planned to look into the hiring and firing practices of the motion picture, radio, and television industries.

The January 6, 1955, issue of the "Hollywood Reporter," a Hollywood, California, daily newspaper, stated that Paul Jacobs, a CIO and AFL union consultant and member of the Board of the American Civil Liberties Union, was to be local representative on this survey. According to this article, Jacobs prepared the material which formed the case for the CIO to expel Harry Bridges. (100-391697-A)

John Cogley has not been investigated by the FBI and our files contain no information concerning him. A review of our files concerning Paul Jacobs reveals that he is identical with Paul Leonard Jacobs, concerning whom a Security Matter-C investigation was conducted in 1953. A copy of the report of Special Agent Thomas R. Cotter dated August 14, 1953, at Los Angeles, California, which reflects the results of that investigation, was furnished to the Department on September 2, 1953.

PAUL LEONARD JACOBS

INDEXED
RECORDED

24 FEB 23 1955

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Jacobs was born in New York City on August 24, 1910, and as of August, 1953, he resided at 25101 Preston Avenue, Los Angeles, California. During the early 1940's, Jacobs was employed by the International Garment Workers, New York City; he served in the United States Army for three years; was labor representative for the CIO Oil Workers Union, Los Angeles, California; and in 1953 was a teacher at the

(11) 5/1/55 cover memo Roach to Belmont 2/18/55, EFT:

b6
b7C

A.K. delivered to [redacted]
9:00 P.M. 2/22/55 By Cms

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6869

University of California at Los Angeles and served in an advisory capacity in labor relations for Mathanson and Associates, 416 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California. (100-401403-3)

When interviewed by Special Agents of this Bureau on August 18, 1949, and April 4, 1950, Jacobs advised that he was active in the Young Communist League for a period of about a year in 1933-1934, at which time he was expelled for engaging in Trotskyite activities. He stated he became a Trotskyite for about a year after being expelled from the Young Communist League. In 1950, he asked the whereabouts of Susan B. Anthony II, stating she was an old friend of his and that he had brought her into the Socialist Party but that she later turned Communist. On February 3, 1953, Susan B. Anthony II, concerning whom this Bureau conducted a security-type investigation, furnished a signed statement in which she said that while at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, in 1937, she met a Trotskyite organizer, Paul Jacobs. She described Jacobs as a "repulsive little character" who tried to recruit her for the Socialist Workers Party. The Young Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (65-57981-2; 101-1336-11,38)

Informants of known reliability have advised that Jacobs was a subscriber to the "Daily People's World," West Coast Communist newspaper, in 1948 and to the "New International," official organ of the Independent Socialist League, in 1952. The Independent Socialist League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. [REDACTED] b7D b6 b7C

[REDACTED] US Post Office, New York City 100-401403-3)

A souvenir program of a banquet sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and held in Los Angeles, California, on July 23, 1949, for James Kutcher listed Paul Jacobs as a member of the Southern California James Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. An informant of known reliability advised that the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee was organized in August, 1948, under the sponsorship of the Socialist Workers Party for the purpose of gaining back Kutcher's position with the Veterans Administration, from which position he had been removed because of Socialist Workers Party membership. (Tesar, 100-401403-3)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6870

On March 20, 1951, Jacobs spoke at a public forum entitled "The Problem of Communism and the Preservation of Civil Liberties," at the University Religion Conference sponsored by the Los Angeles Jewish Community Center. Jacobs told how Communists infiltrate and take over certain groups and concluded his talk by saying that the only way to combat Communist infiltration was to be vigilant, work hard, and study how and where Communists operate. He said he had come to the conclusion there is no morality with the Communists.

b7D

[redacted] 100-401403-3, p.7)

On March 14, 1953, Jacobs spoke at a conference on "Democracy and Education" which was presented by the Vanguard Club of the University of California at Los Angeles. An informant of known reliability advised that the Vanguard Club was a "left wing Socialist club" through which the Socialist Youth League recruited its members and that it is supported by the Independent Socialist League. The Socialist Youth League and the Independent Socialist League have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. [redacted] 100-401403-3)

b7D

Informants have advised that in the above-mentioned speech Jacobs: (1) Criticized FBI investigations stating, "They do their job of investigating but not very well" and that wire tapping by the FBI has grown tremendously; (2) Complained that Gus Hall, Communist Party leader convicted in New York City in 1949 for violation of the Smith Act and a fugitive in Mexico, was not afforded his constitutional rights as he was literally dragged across the border rather than going through the legal process; (3) Advised those filling out Civil Service forms and loyalty oaths to admit past affiliation with cited organizations and if any trouble resulted that they should contact the American Civil Liberties Union immediately; (4) Criticized investigations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, warning that a citizen's refusal to answer questions concerning his past or present affiliation with the Communist Party always resulted in the loss of his job or reflected upon his securing of future employment; and (5) Stated that he could see no future for students unless they planned a well-organized demonstration of their feelings toward academic freedom and students' rights.

[redacted] 100-344527-92;
1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

[redacted] 100-401403-3)

b7D
b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: John Cogley b6 6871
b7C

Supervisor [redacted] Room 7633

R# Date 2/9/55 Searcher Initial Eff

Former exec. editor of Commonwealth mag.
FILE NUMBER SERIAL

✓ 100-391697-A Hollywood Reporter 1/8/55
J.E. Cogley (buildup)
NI 100-350572-498, 488, 486 NE NE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 008573 JEP

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-2a

SEARCH SLIP

b6

b7C

Subj:

Jacobs, Paul Leonard

Supervisor

[Redacted]

Room

7633

R#

Date

2-8

Searcher

Initial

5/10

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

<i>✓</i>	<i>100-401403</i>	
	<i>Paul L.</i>	
<i>✓</i>	<i>65-57981-12</i>	
<i>✓</i>	<i>100-344527-92</i>	
<i>NP</i>	<i>65-58365-922</i>	
	<i>Paul</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>67-450570</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>52-4078</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>40-17290</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>40-28249</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>100-291290</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>26-140747</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>26-100607</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>26-155612</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>26-157431</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>32-16605</i>	

①

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

2a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Jacobs, Paul

Supervisor

Room

R#

Date

2-8

Searcher

Initial

9/10

FILE NUMBERSERIAL

Paul

NR	42-52305
NR	47-36591
✓NR	42-54290
NR	26-163481
NR	31-76833
NR	58-1404
LT	100-401403
NR	62-73625
NR	62-22136
NR	26-61559
NR	100-6595
NR	31-79512
NR	9-24823
NR	121-26132
NR	116-273212
NR	116-404519

(2)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

2a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Jacobs, Paul Leonard

Supervisor

Room

Searcher

R#

Date

2-8

Initial

5/10

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Paul

<i>NR</i>	<i>76-7280</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>100-236022</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>52-52971</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>100-326608-7,9</i>	<i>NR</i>
<i>NR</i>	<i>65-6656-60</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>87-2828-21</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>62-75147-27-68 encl. p. 86</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>100-333524-1</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>62-75147-27-2 p. 40</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>61-7559-220</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>26-43863-7</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>26-53925-4</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>62-28371-911</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>100-138213-148</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>100-7660-87X p. 30</i>	
<i>NR</i>	<i>100-391692-A</i>	<i>Hollywood Reporter 1-6-55 (2)</i>

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

2a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Jacobs, Paul Leonard

Supervisor

Room

R#

Date

2-8

Searcher

Initial

5110

FILE NUMBERSERIAL

LT	100-391697-A-	9 Jacky, 16-55
NR	100-135-15-218	
NI	31-55800-63	
NR	26-53925-24, 3	
NI	31-60859-1	
NI	65-12352-57	
NR	100-138213-213	
NR	100-108612-9	
NR	66-3700-E-30	
NI	62-75147-27-8	P.42
ST	65-58365-868,	924 P.7;
	ST 684,	
I	101-1336-11	
NP	100-44433-113	P.18
NR	98-2366-441,	448
NR	100-4660-1357	(4)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

2a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Jacobs, Paul Leonard

Supervisor

Room

Searcher

R#

Date

2-8

Initial

5110FILE NUMBERSERIALPaul

NR	100-7660- 127 , 114	
NI	62-75147-27-4,	
NR	62-75147-47-36 P.39	
NR	120-1130-1	
NR	96-0-8470	
NI	65-28412-28	
NR	98-2366-670	
NI	100-14105-2	
NI	71-1837-1	
NI	91-195-467	
NR	62-75147-44-541 encl. P.68	
NR	31-78475-1, 91R.	
NR	100-333524-7	
NR	87-2828-8	
NR	66-2341-47-54	
NR	87-2828-17	(5)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

2a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Jacobs, Paul Leonard

Supervisor

Room

Searcher

R#

Date

2-6

Initial

5/10

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

	<i>Paul</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>105-31172-2</i>	<i>P.13</i>
<i>NI</i>	<i>105-25354-2</i>	
<i>SV</i>	<i>101-1336-39</i>	<i>P.11, 12; 51</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>incl. P.10</i>
<i>NI</i>	<i>121-25404-5</i>	
<i>SE</i>	<i>100-30575-34</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>121-25404-13</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>65-32424-46</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>65-58489-14</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>100-341715-3</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>65-58489-21</i>	
<i>NI</i>	<i>140-6843-1</i>	
<i>AP</i>	<i>100-33049-26-A</i>	
	<i>New Leader 4-21-50</i>	
<i>SI</i>	<i>100-86590-26-76</i>	

(6)

228

Subj:

Room

R#

Date _____

Searcher

Initial

SERIAL

SV 100-344 527-125 P. 21, 22
LV 92; 115, 99

NA 62-7721-5442 P. 53

121-0-4010

62-28371-900

15-20839-2

NY 100-50040-5

87-2828-16, 2

ME 40-79008-1

100-135-21-157

P. L.

N1 62-46387-30

(7)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: February 18, 1955

FROM : R. R. ROACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 258 BTJ/afSUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLICSurvey of Blacklisting in the Entertainment Industry

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen -b6
Tamm -b7C
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

A review of a copy of the remarks made by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the captioned organization, on January 26, 1955, before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., (reviewed for you by Inspector W. C. Sullivan) reveals that, in addition to its other projects, (subjects of recent memoranda) the Fund is sponsoring an investigation of blacklisting in the entertainment industry. This survey into hiring and firing practices in the motion picture, radio, and television industries is planned to include a test of public opinion and is headed by John Cogley, former executive editor of "The Commonwealth," lay Catholic weekly magazine. Cogley has not been investigated by the Bureau and our files contain no information concerning him. (100-368336-7; 100-391697-A "Hollywood Reporter" 1/6/55.)

The January 6, 1955, issue of the "Hollywood Reporter," a Hollywood, California, daily newspaper, reported that the local representative on this survey was to be Paul Jacobs, CIO and AFL union consultant and American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Board member. Information concerning Jacobs, synopsised below, is included in attached memorandum to Attorney General. (100-391697-A)

Jacobs was subject of a Security Matter-C investigation conducted in 1953, results of which were furnished to the Department on September 2, 1953. In interviews he admitted activity in Young Communist League (YCL) in 1933-1934 until expelled for Trotskyite activities, was Trotskyite for about a year, and stated he brought Susan B. Anthony who later turned Communist, into Socialist Party. In signed statement she stated he tried to recruit her into Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1937. Jacobs was subscriber to "Daily Peoples World" (1948) and "New International," (1952) official organ of Independent Socialist League (ISL). In July, 1949, he was member of Southern California James Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, an organization sponsored by the SWP. The YCL, SWP, and ISL have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. At forum in March, 1951, Jacobs stated only way to combat Communist infiltration was to be vigilant, work hard, and study how and where Communists operate. In speech on March 14, 1953, he criticized FBI investigations stating, "They do their job of investigating but not very well." He also criticized FBI's use of wire tapping; complained

Attachment
EFT:tabler

(8)

1 - L. B. Nichols

1 - A. H. Belmont

1 - Section 2

1 - yellow file copy

RECORDED-35

INDEXED-35

1 - F. J. Baumgardner

1 - L. R. Boardman

1 -

100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)

cc 100-401403 (Paul Leonard Jacobs)

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-401403

b6
b7C

that Gus Hall, Communist Party leader convicted in New York City in 1949, had not been afforded his constitutional rights when dragged across the border; told those filling out loyalty oaths to admit past affiliation with cited groups and criticized House Committee on Un-American Activities investigations for depriving private citizens of employment.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (1) For your information.
- (2) That the attached memorandum, with a copy for Deputy Attorney General Rogers, be approved and forwarded to the Attorney General.

✓

Woo

2/18

Jhm

ABW

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: February 24, 1955

FROM : R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF SURVEY ACTIVITIES
SPONSORED AND FINANCED BY THE
FORD FOUNDATION

Tolson ✓
Boardman ✓
Nichols ✓
Belmont ✓
Harbo ✓
Mohr ✓
Parsons ✓
Rosen ✓
Tamm ✓
 Sizoo ✓
Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Holloman ✓
Gandy ✓

During the past two months, the Special Memoranda Unit of the Liaison Section has conducted name checks concerning over forty individuals who have been connected with survey activities sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation. The attached chart, which may be of interest to the Director, includes various projects and surveys financed by the Ford Foundation; the amount of money granted to each project (if known); the identities of the individuals and organizations participating in these projects; and the dates of intra-Bureau memoranda and memoranda to the Attorney General reflecting the results of Bureau file checks concerning these individuals and organizations.

As additional projects are announced by the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic, the Liaison Section will continue to conduct file checks and keep you advised of the results.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

Attachment

ERT:saw
(13)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Crime Records
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison Section Tickler
- 1 -
- 1 - yellow
- 1 - Mr. Holloman (Director's Office)

100-391697

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8/STP/JP

RECORDED-91

INDEXED-91

EX-128

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58 MAR - 9 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-24-89 BY 88888 J1092

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY ACTIVITIES SPONSORED AND FINANCED BY THE

FORD FOUNDATION

\$15,000,000
(1-52)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
(*12/30/54; **1/19/55)

FUND OFFICERS:
ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS - PRESIDENT }
WILBUR HUGH FERRY - VICE PRESIDENT } *1/12/55
BETHUEL MATTHEW WEBSTER - COUNSEL } **1/19/55

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC ACTIVITIES

\$300,000
(11-54)

**COMMERCE CLEARING
HOUSE OF CHICAGO**

FOR COLLECTION AND PUBLI-
CATION OF ALL SECURITY
REGULATIONS, EXCEPT THOSE
PERTAINING TO FEDERAL
LOYALTY AND EMPLOYEES
SECURITY PROGRAM.
(*1/12/55)

\$1,500,000
(1-9-55)

**AMERICAN BAR ASSOCI-
ATION**

FOR SURVEY OF ADMINIS-
TRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTI-
TICE IN THE UNITED STATES.
MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM J.
DOROVAN - CHAIRMAN OF
SPECIAL COMMITTEE.
(*1/21/55)

\$100,000
(12-22-54)

**TO ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

FOR APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE TO SURVEY
FEDERAL LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAMS.
1955 OFFICERS OF ASSOCIATION OF THE
BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK:

ALLEN T. KLOTS - PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. ALGER }
CHAUNCEY D. GARVER } VICE
BENJAMIN A. MATTHEWS } PRESIDENTS
CARLYLE E. MAW }
JAMES GARRETT WALLACE }
WILLIAM E. JACKSON - SECRETARY
GEORGE A. SPIEGELBERG - TREASURER
PAUL B. DeWITT - EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
EDWARD JOHN ERNIS - CHAIRMAN OF COM-
MITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE LAW WHICH
PREVIOUSLY STUDIED PROJECT.
(*12/30/54, 1/12/55; **1/19/55)

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
EMPLOYEES**

ADAM YARMOLINSKY, WASH-
INGTON, D. C., ATTORNEY,
ON 12/8/54 BEGAN FACT-
FINDING STUDY OF CASE
HISTORIES IN SECURITY
INVESTIGATIONS.
(*12/30/54, 1/3/55)

RALPH SHARP BROWN, JR.
AND SANDRA WEINSTEIN
PREPARED 101 PAGE DE-
SCRIPTION OF FEDERAL
STATUTES, EXECUTIVE OR-
DERS AND REGULATIONS FOR
FOOD.
(*1/12/55; **1/19/55)

WALTER HILLIS, FUND CON-
SULTANT SINCE 8/1/54,
PREPARED WORKING PAPERS
FOR SURVEY.
(*1/12/55; **1/19/55)

STUDIES TO BE MADE AVAIL-
ABLE TO THE COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY ASSOCIATION
OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF
NEW YORK.

AMOUNT
NOT STATED
(1-26-55)

\$175,000
(1-4-55)

**SURVEY OF AMERICAN
ATTITUDES TOWARD
COMMUNISM, CONFORMI-
TY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES**

RESULTS TO BE PUBLISHED
IN APRIL, 1955, BY DR.
SAMUEL STOFFER, HARVARD
UNIVERSITY.
(*1/5/55; **1/10/55)

THOSE PARTICIPATING IN
SURVEY:
DR. SAMUEL STOFFER
PORTER R. CHANDLER, NEW
YORK ATTORNEY
ALEX CREIGHTON, CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
ROSCOE DRUMMOND, COLUM-
BIAN
PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, COL-
UMBIA UNIVERSITY
FRANK STANTON, COLUMBIA
BROADCASTING SYSTEM
LOGAN WILSON, UNIVERSITY
OF TEXAS
(*1/11/55)

**INVESTIGATION OF
BLACKLISTING IN THE
ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY**

JOHN COOLEY, FORMER EDITOR OF
"THE COMMONWEAL"-CHAIRMAN;
PAUL JACOBS, CIO AND AFL UNION
CONSULTANT-LOS ANGELES, CALIF-
ORNIA, REPRESENTATIVE ON PRO-
JECT.
(*2/18/55; **2/21/55)

AMOUNT
NOT STATED
(1-10-55)

\$250,000
(1-14-55)

**A FACTUAL STUDY OF
THE INFLUENCE OF COM-
MUNISM, PAST AND
PRESENT, ON ALL AS-
PECTS OF AMERICAN
LIFE**

STUDY MADE BY:
CLINTON ROSSITER, CORNELL
UNIVERSITY, CHAIRMAN
DANIEL AARON, SMITH COL-
LEGE
DANIEL BELL, "FORTUNE"
MAGAZINE
PAUL A. CARTER, COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY
WESLEY DEXTER, AUTHOR
DONALD FLEMING, BROWN
UNIVERSITY
ROBERT IYERSON, DRAKE
UNIVERSITY
EARL LATHAM, AMHERST
COLLEGE
JOHN A. ROCHE, HAYFORD
COLLEGE
RALPH L. ROY, METHODIST
MINISTER
DAVID A. SHANNON, COLUM-
BIA UNIVERSITY
(*1/24/55; **1/28/55)

**A STUDY OF FEAR AMONG
TEACHERS IN AMERICAN COL-
LEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS**

TO START IN LATE SPRING OF 1955.
PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY.
LOUIS HARRIS, PARTNER OF ELMO
ROPER ASSOCIATES.
(*1/25/55; **1/17/55)

* INTRA-BUREAU MEMORANDUM
** DATA SENT TO ATTORNEY GENERAL



FEBRUARY 25, 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: February 25, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. J. Harbo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 2008 BTJ

SUBJECT: AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE FOR
"SURVEY ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF
CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES"

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

The "Oakland Tribune," Oakland, California, on January 9, 1955, carried a story headlined "Ford Foundation Grants Bar Survey Funds." The news story stated the Ford Foundation had on the previous day approved a \$1,500,000 grant to finance the American Bar Association's vast "Survey on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the United States."

The news story also stated that Chief Justice Earl Warren would serve as an adviser to the survey committee and that Professor Arthur H. Sherry, University of California law and criminology expert who has been serving as Executive Secretary of the American Bar Association planning team for the research project, announced that the planning phase was completed and details would be discussed by a special committee scheduled to meet in Chicago on January 18, 1955. Sherry announced he would remain as Executive Director of the survey and that the "operational headquarters" of the project would be at the University of California while the actual "research headquarters" will be centered in the American Bar Association's new Chicago Research Center. Sherry announced that the survey would be made in 15 states and it was expected to take nearly five years to complete.

Sherry also said the "Special Committee on the Administration of Criminal Justice" would be headed by the famous General William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, presently a New York attorney. Sherry also stated he had been aided in his administrative tasks of the planning phase by John A. Pettis, Jr., of Oakland, California, a former Deputy District Attorney in Alameda County.

Sherry said the planning recommendations to be discussed by the special committee in Chicago provide for four main fields of study: (1) the functions and operation of police departments, (2) the prosecution and defense of criminal cases, (3) function and operation of criminal courts, and (4) systems of probation, sentence and parole.

cc - Mr. Harbo
Attachments
DGH:abk

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1955
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

The news article stated that in addition to Justice Warren and General Donovan the committee would be made up of the following members:

Vice Chairman Albert J. Harno, Dean of the University of Illinois, College of Law;

Secretary Walter P. Armstrong of Memphis;

Warren Olney III, Former Alameda County District Attorney and now Assistant Attorney General of the United States;

Judge Bolitha J. Laws, Chief Judge of the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia;

Floyd E. Thompson of Chicago;

G. A. Youngquist of Minneapolis.

There are attached summary memoranda concerning the above listed individuals with the exceptions of Warren Chief Justice Earl Warren and General Donovan. I that in connection with General Donovan that a coordination summary is now being completed. This summary runs to 240 pages and when completed it will be reviewed and briefed to a short summary suitable for review purposes. There are also attached summary memoranda on Professor Arthur H. Sherry and John A. Pettis, Jr.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ADDENDUM: DGH:ekk March 1, 1955

It is noted that the name of Edgar Eisenhower, brother of the President, who was formerly on this Committee, does not appear.

✓ *mm*

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Federal Office Building
Civic Center
San Francisco 2, California
January 17, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP20172

PERSONAL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is a clipping taken from the "Oakland Tribune" for Sunday, January 9, 1955, entitled "Ford Foundation Grants For Survey Funds," in which I thought you might be interested.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM M. WHELAN
Special Agent in Charge



Auto stat made of each
James R. [illegible]
[illegible]

March 2, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY 208 (S) J 108

Mr. William M. Goldsmith
The Fund For The Republic, Inc.
412 Cathedral Parkway
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Goldsmith:

RECORDED - 94

100-391697-70

Your letter dated February 23, 1955,

has been received.

While the FBI does not have the facilities to make the material you requested available, I have taken the liberty of having inquiries made at the Library of Congress. I am informed that they do make microfilm copies of publications in their possession and will be glad to furnish you an estimate of the cost in connection therewith. You may wish to direct a letter to them in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

RGE:nl
(3)

NOTE: There is no information in Bureau files on this organization which would prevent sending of this correspondence, and no record on Goldsmith.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

COMM - FBI

MAR 2 1955

MAILED 20

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Please Reply to
412 CATHEDRAL PARKWAY
New York 25, N. Y.
Tel. Riverside 9-7182

February 23, 1955

Research Bureau
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Fund For The Republic is currently engaged in extensive research concerning the impace of Communism on American institutions. In this connection we are interested in obtaining regular or microfilm copies of the following publications:

The Labor Herald March, 1922 issue

The complete file of The Communist from 1927 until it emerged as Political Affairs

Complete file of The Party Organizer and/or other internal party theoretical documents relating to trade union policies.

Complete or partial file of The Communist, published in Chicago from 1919 to 1921 by the Communist Party.

Revolutionary Age, published in Boston at first and later in New York in 1919.

We shall appreciate knowing of the availability of these periodicals and also of the cost of obtaining them.

Very truly yours,

William M. Goldsmith
William M. Goldsmith

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 BTJ/ag
WMG/kj

RECORDED - 96

100-271691-70
MAR 3 1955

EX-125

File
CRIME REC.

nmml
ack 3-2-55
RJK

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 100-391697

DATE: March 9, 1955

FROM : SAC, BOSTON 100-29183

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

RE Bureau letter dated January 25, 1955.

[redacted] advised on March 3, 1955 that he had received information from Professor ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND, Harvard Law School, that the two books "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States" will not be published before the middle of April, 1955.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] is a confidential source of this Office and will make these volumes available when they are published. Upon receipt of these volumes, they will be forwarded to the Bureau.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-88 BY SP8 BTJ/abg

Central Research
Attn: [signature]

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INDEXED - 33

100-391697-72

MAR 17 1955

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MAR 16 1955

MAR 16 1955

March 8, 1955

RECORDED-48
INDEXED-48

100-39697-73

Miss Sheila C. Kislik
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
1 East 54th Street
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 20807 J/ag

Dear Miss Kislik:

Your letter of March 3, 1955, has been received,
and I appreciate your interest in writing.

In accordance with your request, it is a pleasure
to enclose a copy of the speech I made on November 13, 1954,
upon receiving the Cardinal Gibbons Award for 1954 at the
Homecoming Banquet of Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

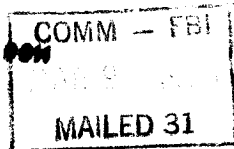
John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

TED:ew
(3)

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

67 MAR 17 1955



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TED

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

1 East 54th Street

March 3, 1955

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Sizoo	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Office of the Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The Fund for the Republic
would like to obtain a copy of the
address delivered by J. Edgar Hoover
at the annual homecoming banquet of
The Catholic University of America
on November 13, 1954.

We have already written to
the University who referred us to your
office.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila C. Kislik

Sheila C. Kislik

RECORDED-48

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EX-100

MAR 4 1955

100-371671-73
MAR 11 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY OCS 8137J/SP

ad 3-8-55
Jed

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: March 3, 1955

FROM : R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: RALPH L. ROY
PAUL A. CARTER

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 20585 JAB

Bufiles checked on captioned individuals pursuant to your routing slip attached to clipping from February 25, 1955, issue of "The Washington Post and Times-Herald," wherein they were listed as signatories to a letter which announced the preparation by them of a study on Communism and the churches which was to be sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. In their letter they invited persons with either "documented evidence of actual Communist attempts to infiltrate the churches or make use of clergymen" or with "examples of false and irresponsible charges of Communist influence on religion in America" to communicate with them at 500 West 122nd Street, New York 27, New York.

The Bureau has not investigated and our files contain no identifiable, derogatory information concerning Roy or Carter. A January 14, 1955, press release of the Fund for the Republic reported that Ralph L. Roy and Paul A. Carter were to be two of the participants on a committee, sponsored and supported by the Fund and directed by Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University, which committee was to make a factual study of Communism, past and present, on all aspects of American life. According to the release, the specific subject to be studied by Roy and Carter was Communism and Religion. You will recall that name checks were conducted relative to all committee participants and the results thereof were furnished to Mr. Boardman in your memorandum dated January 24, 1955, and to the Attorney General on January 28, 1955. (100-391697-65)

Ralph L. Roy, an ordained Methodist Minister at Union Theological Seminary, New York, is the author of the book entitled, Apostles of Discord, which was described in a book review in the "Washington Star" of September 6, 1953, as a documentation of individuals "who use religion to spread hate, strife, and discord." Paul A. Carter is an instructor in history at the School of General Studies, Columbia University, and author of an unpublished study of social gospel in the Protestant churches, 1920 - 1940. Both of them are members of the American Society of Church History. On January 13, 1955, Mr. Roy sent a letter to the Bureau in which he put himself on

RECORDED - 8

100-391697-74

62 MAR 16 1955
100-391697

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - W. C. Sullivan

1 - [redacted] (Fund for the Republic)

1 - yellow

1 - sect. tick.

MAR 9 1955

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record as having subscribed to the "Daily Worker" and having it sent to his home address. He stated such a step was made necessary by his continued research in the field of Communism and the churches and added that this project might bring him into contact with other publications, organizations and individuals, directly or indirectly, connected with the Communist Party. He also stated that his own anti-Communist position was on record in his book, "Apostles of Discord," published in August, 1953, by Beacon Press in Boston. It is noted that the printed letterhead contained the following: "Study on Communism and the Churches, 3041 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y., Ralph Lord Roy, Paul A. Carter." (By press release of Fund for the Republic furnished in 2-9-55 letter from AAG Tompkins; 100-403529-40, sub A; 140-2766-14)

ACTION:

None. For your information.

mm 9
AS
K

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Boardman _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tamm _____
 Mr. Sizoo _____
 Mr. Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Communism in Churches

We are preparing a study on communism and the churches sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, Inc. Persons with information on either of the following topics are invited to communicate with us at 500 West 122d st., New York 27, N. Y.

1. Documented evidence of actual Communist attempts to infiltrate the churches or make use of clergymen—Protestant, Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, or Jewish.

2. Examples of false and irresponsible charges of Communist influence on religion in America.

RALPH LORD ROY.
 PAUL A. CARTER.
 New York.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-28-81 BY 8857JLg

Wash. Post and
 Times Herald ✓

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N. Y. Herald Tribune _____

N. Y. Mirror _____

Date: 2/25/55

67 MAR 16 1955

ENCLOSURE

March 3-35 157
 March 3-35 157

726

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

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b7C

Subj: Ray, Ralph Lord

Supervisor

Room

7631

Searcher

Initial

S189

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Date 12/1/81

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-8-81 BY 2058 BTJ

SERIAL

100-403529-A

Washington Star 9-6-53

I 100-403529-40

I 140-2766-14

Ralph S.

SI 100-391697-66; 65

ND 62-60527-41339

NI 100-346566-176, p#31

ND 100-231551-A

New Leader 9-20-54

I 100-403529-40

Ralph

N 7-1820-3035; 31237

NR 31247; 31268; 31318

NR 7-1820-1-2242

NI 61-7546-62 5-6

NI 140-390015-66, encl p#19

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Roy, Ralph Lord

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 2/28 Searcher Initial 2189FILE NUMBERSERIALR. LordNRR. L.film 31-2180NR 156-7366-5LordNRno alphabetical listingfor -

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

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Subj: Carter, Paul A.

Supervisor



Room 7631

Searcher

R#

Date 2/28

Initial S189

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NI 87-4948

SI 100-391697-66; 65

ND 62-60527-41339

— Paul (LTL-NY)

^N ~~File~~ 31-23468

NI 100-412028

NR 58-2651

NI 100-367632-437 p#25

NR 66-2741-363X1

NR 71-5244-1

NI 65-53037-3

NR 44-801-1, 16, 17

— P.A.

NR 98-34410-2

NR 100-78459-2

1 - [redacted], 1955

AUBREY WILLIS WILLIAMS
SECURITY MATTER - C

~~70~~ MAR 16 1955

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

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Subj: Aubrey Willis Williams

Supervisor

Room

7633

Searcher

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Date: 2/2/56Initial elt

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FILE NUMBER

DATE 7-24-89 BY 60385 J

SERIAL

100-52504June 1954X ✓ 100-273340-14NP Aubrey W. Williams
62-88217-1525 enclpgs 241, 242, 246-274, 276-
294, 323-327, 329-336, 349NP 100-10355-475NP 101-1710-113NP 100-10355-A Miami
Herald 2/8/5462-88217-1531NP Aubrey
44-8024 (NP on son)NP 100-384326-5NP 100-10355-473 enclNP 100-20396-135 pgs 69, 83, 153NP 100-10355-469 pgs 8, 10, 12,
14, 23, 26, 27

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Subj:

Supervisor

Room

Searcher

R#

Date _____

Initial

SERIAL

NP. 140 - 3572 - 14 NP

NP 100-10355-489, 483

~~121-10487~~ NP 482 p 13

NP 100-384660-66 p 45

NP 100-56648-22

NR 12-0-5374

NP 100-10355-473 end p 70

NP 140-3496-48 ✓

NP 100-375019-67 p4

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *W.R.*DATE: March 8, 1955 *V. per D.*

FROM : R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
Study of Influence of Communism on All
Aspects of American LifeALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 8330 [signature]Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Holloman
Gandy

On January 14, 1955, the Fund for the Republic announced it had allocated \$250,000 for "a factual study of the influence of Communism, past and present, on all aspects of American life." You will recall that information concerning Clinton Rossiter, Professor of Government at Cornell University, head of this group, and ten others selected to assist in the study was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated January 28, 1955. An article in the February 17, 1955, issue of the "Cornell Daily Sun," Ithaca, New York, reflects that Professor Rossiter has selected two additional scholars to assist in this study, namely: Donald D. Egbert, Professor of Art and Archeology at Princeton University, to write on Communism and Marxism in American Art; and Nathan Glazer, editor of Anchor Books, to do a book on Communism in the American Society, particularly in relation to the minorities problem. (100-391697-65)

According to the article, Rossiter noted the need for securing experts in particular fields, but not necessarily experts on Communism, to write for the survey. Rossiter felt that the project could best be done by men who have, for the most part, stayed out of controversy over Communism and McCarthyism.

Donald Drew Egbert, born May 12, 1902, in Norwalk, Connecticut, and a member of the Princeton University faculty since 1929, has not been the subject of Bureau investigation. Our files contain no derogatory information concerning him. Egbert's book "Socialism and American Life," published in 1952, sets out names, organizations, and historical background on various forms of Socialism and Communism in the United States. (Who's Who in America, 1954; 100-352546-600).

Nathan Glazer, born February 25, 1923, in New York City, has not been the subject of Bureau investigation and our files

RECORDED-96
INDEXED-66

100-391697-15
EFT:tab 1 - Mr. Belmont 1 - section tick.
(7) 1 - Mr. Baumgardner 1 - yellow file copy
1348 1 - W. C. Sullivan 1 - [redacted]

MAR 15 1955

66 MAR 21 1955

100-391697

Attachment *Recd* 3-11-55

EX-117

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contain no information concerning him. Glazer is editor of Doubleday and Company, New York City, and resides at 247-13 76th Avenue, Bellerose 26, New York. (September, 1954, supplement to Who's Who in America)

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. For your information.

2. That the attached memorandum to the Attorney General, with a copy for Deputy Attorney General Rogers, be approved and forwarded.

John
ABK
V.
2/18/45
3
B

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Egbert, Donald D b6
b7C

Supervisor [redacted] Room 7633
R# Date 7/3 Searcher Initial 150

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

ND 100-352546-600
1 Bu lib. card
Author of Socialism
and American Life
other Breakdowns
VP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 038501af

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

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b7C

Subj: Glazer, Nathan

Supervisor

Room 7633

D#

Date _____

Searcher

Initial

FILE NUMBER

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NR 23-0-571

7-2152-619

NR 4163

NR 122-474-16

NR 121 - 42947-5

NR	100 - 46808 - 200
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NR 242

NR 61-7341-34-494

Buildings

N/P

K.

MP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
RECORDS SECTION4-5, 1955

☐ Name Check Unit-Room 6523
☐ Attention _____
☐ Service Unit-Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☒ Return to San Diego Ext. 2357
 Supervisor
 Room 1264

☐ All References
☐ Subversive References
☐ Main References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only
☐ Restrict to Locality of _____
☐ Breakdown ☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Exact Name Only
☐ Exact Spelling
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

SUBJECT Matthew Jacobson
 Address _____
 Localities _____
 Birthdate & Place _____

R# _____ Date 4-5 Searcher Initial H.D.M.

FILE NUMBER SERIAL

I 100 - 39169.7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-24-89 BY 28835

File

5-pw

2 - dupl.
1 - mont
1 - mgardner
1 - M. C. Sullivan
1 - Section tickler

b6
b7c

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

March 10, 1955

DIRECTOR, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 B7J/agp

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Study of Influence of Communism on
All Aspects of American Life

Reference is made to my memorandum of January 26, 1955, which advised you that the Fund for the Republic had allocated \$250,000 for "a factual study of the influence of Communism, past and present, on all aspects of American life," and which furnished you the results of FBI file checks on Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University, head of this group, and ten others who were selected to assist him in this study. Enclosed is the Photostat of an article by Norman A. Bikales which appeared in the February 17, 1955, issue of the "Cornell Daily Sun," Ithaca, New York.

Set forth in this article is Rossiter's concept of the scope of the project. According to the article, he noted the need for securing experts in particular fields, but not necessarily experts on Communism, to write for the survey. Rossiter stated that he felt the project could best be completed by employing men who have, for the most part, stayed out of controversy in the arguments over Communism and McCarthyism.

The article stated that Rossiter has chosen two additional scholars to assist in this study, namely: Donald D. Egbert, Professor of Art and Archeology at Princeton University, to write on Communism and Marxism in American Art; and Nathan Glazer, editor of Anchor Books, to do a book on Communism in the American Society, particularly in relation to the minorities problem. No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau concerning Egbert or Glazer and a check of our files reveals no derogatory information concerning them.

Enclosure

Tolson ☒ 1 - Mr. William P. Rogers (with enclosure)
Boardman ☒
Nichols ☒
Belmont ☒
Harbo ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
Rosen ☒
Tamm ☒
Sizoo ☒
Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

NOTE: (Memo Roach to Belmont, 3/8/55, EFT:tab)

(9)
100-391697

RECORDED 4

INDEXED 4

EX-112

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MAR 11 10 16 AM '55

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MAR 11 1955
COMM-FBI

Rossiter Heads Study of Communism

By NORMAN A. BIKALES

While the Communist penetration into American life is not so great as the McCarthyites and other right-wing defenders of the faith would have us believe, we must face the reality that Communism has made definite inroads and will leave lasting impressions on our society, Prof. Clinton L. Rossiter explained in a recent interview.

A member of the Department of Government, Professor Rossiter is currently directing a Fund for the Republic study on the influence on Communism on all aspects of American life; he took the opportunity to discuss, at some length, both his concept of and his role within the project.

According to the official announcement of the Fund, the project is intended to "undertake research into the extent and nature of the internal Communist menace and its effect on our community and institutions." This, Rossiter felt, was one aspect of the Fund's "general and sustained effort to aid the American public to estimate realistically and deal more soberly with the Communist problem in the United States."

MORE THAN A HISTORY

Professor Rossiter, who teaches a course in the American Political and Constitutional Tradition as well as a seminar in the same subject, hoped and firmly believed that the project would result in more than just an historical study of Communism in the United States.

In the first place, he felt that historical background would be essential, providing a frame of reference for evaluating the Communist movement. Included in this would be a review of the part played by socialism and

other radical movements in our history.

Secondly, different aspects of American society would be dealt with separately and within the frame of reference of the American tradition. Each particular field—whether it be art, literature, religion, labor, education, etc.—would be dealt with individually as a field and the Communist movement, if any, within that area would be determined.

When first informed of the nature of the survey, Rossiter said that two questions had been posed for his consideration:

1. What was the extent of Communist penetration into American society, institutions, and thinking?
2. What is the extent of real or potential penetration today; that is to say, how far have we been able to roll back the menace of domestic Communism?

To these, Rossiter said he found it necessary to add the question of Communist influence on American life—an influence which has often been neglected by those entirely or primarily concerned with the influence left by efforts to root out Communism. In addition, Rossiter felt it would be necessary to evaluate the phenomenon of Marxism as distinguished from Communism in several areas.

Commenting on his special duties within the scope of the survey, Rossiter called himself a talent scout, co-ordinator of research, editor, and perhaps ultimately a writer.

Initially, Rossiter said he was faced with the problem of securing able men in each of the particular fields to write for the survey. One of the main difficulties in this respect, Rossiter noted, was the need for securing experts in the fields, and not necessarily experts on Communism. He felt that the project could best be completed by employing men who have, for the most part, stayed out of controversy in the arguments over Communism and McCarthyism.

In this connection, Rossiter said it would be best not to employ, as writers, former members of the Communist Party who had been intimately connected with the particular fields and who had subsequently deserted the party.

Rossiter quickly added that ex-Communists would be extremely useful as sources of material, but felt that it would be unwise to use them as the sole source and the main figures in the project.

At the present time, there are 12 scholars, besides Rossiter, working for the Fund on bodies

*File in
100-391697*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-78 BY 8880 JJO

CORNELL DAILY SUN, Ithaca, NY
February 17, 1955

in 11 separate fields: Communist influence, on-government (including espionage and policy making), the labor movement, religion, education (concentrating on the colleges but including public schools), mass media, the arts, opinion-making groups, literature (particularly Marxism in this field), science, the social structure, and perhaps the "intellectuals."

HISTORY ALSO PLANNED

In addition, a general history of the Communist Party, in so far as the group is an operating political instrument, will be written. Finally, Rossiter noted, he may turn writer and help prepare a general popular-style work summing up, digesting and evaluating the findings.

Rossiter recently concluded his job as talent scout by the selection of two additional scholars. Donald D. Egbert, professor of Art and Archeology at Princeton University, has been picked to write on Communism and Marxism in American Art. At the same time, Nathan Glazer, chief associate of David Riesman in writing "The Lonely Crowd" and editor of Anchor Books, has been chosen to do a book on Communism in the American Society, particularly in relation to the minorities problem.

Now that his initial function has been completed, Rossiter is faced with the immense task of co-ordinating the \$250,000 project. Difficulties such as defining jurisdiction, interviewing key authorities, lending a sense of continuity to the diversified works must be all overcome.

Rossiter, who expects that the task will take anywhere from two to four years depending on the particular scholar, said that when the books are finally written, they will be subject to "ruthless criticism." He divided this editing phase into two distinct areas—first, by himself as supervisor of the study to assure over-all continuity to the project; second, by other experts in the particular fields to assure objectivity.

One of the most important factors, Rossiter noted, one that must be borne in minds at all times is that objectivity is of the essence. He explained that he had already received numerous crank letters from all sectors of the political

spectrum accusing him and the project of falling anywhere from McCarthyism to Marxists; these letters based their contentions on the theory that the Fund had a particular point to prove and that it would do so by any means.

This contention is entirely untrue, Rossiter maintained. While he readily admitted that there are some particular writers with certain ideas as to what they will discover, he was adamant in asserting that there were certainly no final answers which already had been determined and which only awaited proof.

Rossiter emphasized that he had been given the widest range of academic freedom by the Fund for the Republic and that he fully intended to extend this freedom to those doing the writing for the project.

"We are aware of the controversial nature of the subject which makes it impossible for us to pose as 'scientific' scholars; of the scarcity of reliable sources; of the problem of overlapping among the various studies.

"But one point I would wish to make clear is this: none of us had any illusions about the 'definitiveness' of any of these studies or all of them. Singly or together they will not prove THE answer—there can be no final, general accepted answer to questions of this sort—but we do hope to come up with the best informed answer possible under the circumstances.

"If we can create a general idea of agreement, if we can persuade all reasonable men that Communism did not penetrate beyond a certain point yet did penetrate up to a certain point, and leave each man to decide for himself just where the line could be drawn between these two points, then we will have done the best job we could do," Rossiter summarized.

He added that it cannot be denied that Communism and Marxism have had definite influence in fields such as the labor movement, the arts, certain phases of the mass media, and literature. Yet, exactly what effect, how lasting and how great, remains to be determined.

The precise manner in which

Rossiter became involved in the project is an interesting story in itself, since he initially opposed to associating himself with the study. When first approached, he refused the job on the grounds that the position would be too time consuming and did not particularly interest him as a matter for academic and scholarly study.

After long negotiations between himself and the Fund, coupled with the introduction of the idea of evaluating the movement in terms of the American tradition, Rossiter began to waver. What finally convinced him to accept the position, he explained, was the enactment by Congress, headed by the so-called liberals, of the measure banning the Communist Party.

POLITICALLY IMPORTANT

Rossiter said that he felt any movement which could motivate such otherwise intelligent men to pass a law against the wishes of the President, FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover, and other authorities in the field must really be politically important. In other words, this movement apparently must have had a real effect on the American people and the American way of life, if shrewd politicians felt that this was what the voting public wanted.

One gets the impression that Rossiter has come a long way since he originally accepted the job a few short months ago. Probably a major factor in his initial reluctance was that he would rather be doing more writing himself and devoting more time to his particular field of instruction. Yet the project seems to be growing on the professor as it grows within itself.



CLINTON L. ROSSITER
Professor of Government

Mr. Thornton
- 7633
Mr. Van Wagoner

b6
b7C

SAC, Louisville (100-4084)

April 8, 1955

DED-30 Director, FBI (100-392697) -77

X-112 MATTHEW JOSEFSON, REPRESENTING
"FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 2883/23/af

Reurlet dated March 23, 1955.

The Fund for the Republic was established by the Ford Foundation late in 1953. The purpose of the fund is to make a study of the various public records concerning the Communist Party and the philosophy of Communism in the United States and from this study write a comprehensive history of American Communism. Paul Hoffman, former Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration, was appointed Chairman of the Board of the Fund which received a grant of \$15,000,000 from Ford Foundation.

The Bureau files contain no information concerning Matthew Josefson or his connection with the Fund for the Republic, other than that furnished in relet.

cc - Bufiles (100-388367) - Anne Braden
(100-388425) - Carl Braden

RLV:ejp
(10)

3 APR 20 1955

COMM - FBI
APR 8 1955
MAILED 26

100-392697-1
100-388425-1
INRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
FROM : SAC, Louisville (100-4084)

DATE: March 23, 1955

SUBJECT: MATTHEW JOSEFSON, REPRESENTING
"FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC"
INFORMATION CONCERNING

The above-named individual, according to informants, is in Louisville to get information concerning the BRADEN case pursuant to a request apparently made from unknown persons that money be supplied by the "Fund for the Republic." It is understood that JOSEFSON is the author of a book on SIDNEY HILLMAN. It would be appreciated if information concerning JOSEFSON would be supplied to this office as well as an identification of the nature of the "Fund for the Republic."

ELB:WW

(5)

cc - Ls 100-3346
Ls 100-3533

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP 815

INDEX

~~SECRET~~

6 MAR 25 1955

12 30 60 27

Thibault

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-44437)

DATE: 3/22/55

SUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 BTG/clp

On March 15, 1955, [redacted] advised SA CLARK S. SHOAF, orally, that [redacted] PAUL JACOBS, whom he described as a former member of the Socialist Workers Party and an individual who is active in the labor union movement, he learned that JACOBS is presently employed on a part-time basis by the Ford Foundation to prepare a report for the Foundation on Communism in Hollywood. JACOBS is to receive \$6,000 for his services in connection with this study.

[redacted] JACOBS has been in touch with SYLVIA RICHARDS, MARTIN BERKELEY and DICK COLLINS, all of whom have testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

[redacted] SYLVIA RICHARDS, RICHARDS feels that JACOBS is trying to be objective and indicated, in his study, that he has been able to learn that the Communists in the movie industry maintain their own "black list" whereby they discriminate against non-Communists.

JACOBS has given the indication [redacted] he intends to develop as much information against the CP as he knows how, but when JACOBS was asked by the Motion Picture Alliance to show evidence of his anti-Communist feelings, he refused to do so.

[redacted] JACOBS contacted the Motion Picture Alliance for their assistance in this research.

[redacted] JACOBS advised [redacted] he knows of ten other individuals who are engaged in similar research throughout the United States on behalf of the Ford Foundation, and JACOBS feels that eight out of ten of the individuals who are engaged in this research are "anti-Communists".

CSS:jlc

REGISTERED

cc: 100-15732 (COMPIC)
 100-26186 [redacted]
 100-41391 (PAUL JACOBS)
 100-21191 (SYLVIA RICHARDS)
 100-29202 (MARTIN BERKELEY)
 100-20076 (DICK COLLINS)

RECORDED-45

EX-117

100-15732-111
 FBI
 MAR 22 1955
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68 APR 7 1955

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LA 100-44437

JACOBS also has indicated that the Ford Foundation intends to publish the preliminary reports of each of the individuals connected with this research, and then expects to receive comments on the research from individuals of all types.

PAUL LEONARD JACOBS was the subject of a case entitled PAUL LEONARD JACOBS, SM-C, Bufile 100-401403, Los Angeles file 100-41391, report of SA THOMAS R. COTTER, 8/14/53, at Los Angeles.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIRTEL

Transmit the following ~~Teletype~~ message to

FBI LOS ANGELES (100-0-63831)

DIRECTOR, FBI 3/21/55 3:30 p.m.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, MISCELLANEOUS, INFO. CONCERNING.

ON 3/18/55 AT THE WEEKLY CONFERENCE WITH THE U. S. ATTORNEY'S

OFFICE, USA LAUGHLIN E. WATERS ADVISED THAT THE FUND FOR

THE REPUBLIC WAS FINANCED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION AND IS

PRESUMABLY ENGAGED IN RESEARCH WORK INVOLVING COMMUNIST

ACTIVITIES AND RELATED MATTERS. MR. WATERS ALSO ADVISED

THE FUND LIKES TO PICK UP AND PUBLICIZE STORIES INVOLVING

POSSIBLE VIOLATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS. RECENTLY THE LOS

ANGELES POST OFFICE ALLEGEDLY "CANCELLED" A SUBSCRIPTION

TO THE LITERARY GAZETTE, DESCRIBED BY MR. WATERS AS A

RUSSIAN PUBLICATION. GENE COONS (PHONETIC), A FREE LANCE

ASSOCIATE OF THE FUND, HAS HEARD OF THE "CANCELLATION"

AND DESCRIBING IT AS A VIOLATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS IS ATTEMPTING

TO OBTAIN FULL DATA ON THIS MATTER FOR PUBLICATION BY THE

FUND. MR. WATERS STATES THAT REPORTS HAVE BEEN MADE THAT

IN EL CENTRO, CALIF. THERE IS NEGRO SEGREGATION IN THE

HEW:jjw

AIR MAIL

Approved:

Mr. Belmont

Sent

Per

Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP3(SF) Jap

RECORDED - 78

INDEXED 78

3-28-55

PAGE TWO

SCHOOLS AND THE FUND MAY PUBLICIZE THIS SITUATION. THE ALLEGED CANCELLATION OF THE SUBSCRIPTION TO LITERARY GAZETTE WILL REPORTEDLY BE GIVEN TO ED MURROW, CBS NEW ANALYST FOR USE ON HIS PROGRAM. LA FILES REFLECT THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC HAS LOCAL OFFICES AT 1444 WENTWORTH AVENUE, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA (PER PRETEXT PHONE CALL TO THAT OFFICE BASED UPON INFO OF NONSPECIFIC NATURE RECEIVED IN LATE 1954 INDICATING POSSIBLE SECURITY INTEREST TO THIS OFFICE.) BUREAU'S ATTENTION IS REFERRED TO BULET 1/6/55 TO MR. HALLOCK HOFFMAN, THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, 1444 WENTWORTH, PASADENA, ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF LETTER FROM HOFFMAN AND DESCRIBING THE BACKGROUND OF THE FUND. MR. WATERS STATES THAT HOFFMAN IS THE SON OF PAUL G. HOFFMAN, FORMER ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION AND ACCORDING TO BULET CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE FUND. MR. WATERS BROUGHT MATTER TO THE ATTENTION OF THIS OFFICE IN VIEW OF POSSIBLE TROUBLE ARISING FROM THE FUND'S POSSIBLE PUBLICATION OF THE POST OFFICE INCIDENT. NO ACTION HERE.

MALONE

CC: MR. RELMONT
AND SUPERVISOR
*S.A. INTEL. DIVISION

FBI
RECEIVED
JAN 12 11 00 AM '55
RECORDED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIRTEL

Transmit the following ~~7/2/55~~ message to:

FBI LOS ANGELES (100-0-63831)

DIRECTOR, FBI 3/25/55

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION
CONCERNING. RE LA AIRTEL 3/21/55. LAUGHLIN E. WATERS,
USA, LA, BY LETTER 3/22/55 MADE AVAILABLE A SCRIPT
PREPARED BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC IN CONNECTION
WITH THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT'S CANCELLATION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS
TO SOVIET AND OTHER FOREIGN COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS. THE
SCRIPT IS SELF-EXPLANATORY AND IS FURNISHED FOR INFORMATION
OF THE BUREAU.

MALONE

JJF:jjw
AIR MAIL
ENCLS. 2

Mr. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP2CJL/ab

RECORDED - 23
INDEXED - 53

12 APR 7 1955

80

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

"Well I think it's interference with the basic freedom, the freedom to read, which is of course closely allied with freedom of speech. If it was injurious or subversive or hurting America or anybody in America, I'd object to it, but I am absolutely certain that it doesn't and I think that the suppression of it is a very petty piece of tyranny from some misguided bureaucrat. Whenever anything like this happens I feel the cold wind of Russian suppression blowing on the back of my neck."

From: The Fund for the Republic
for immediate release
1:00 silent, 8:45 SOR

Teletypes
Room 623
110 S. Broadway
Los Angeles, 14, Calif.

JUN 15 1955

In a move described as being designed to cut off sources of Soviet propaganda, the Post Office Department has moved to cancel subscription to Soviet and other foreign Communist publications. It is reported action was taken on the advice of the Justice Department. One of those affected by this move is 79 year old John A. Gray of Beverly Hills, Calif. Gray, for more than 20 years an editorial writer for two newspapers, took up the study of the Russian language in his spare time. He subscribed to the Russian Literary Gazette because it is a well-written publication, dealing with current events as seen from the Soviet side of the Iron Curtain. Gray feels the Government action is a violation of the first Constitutional Amendment.

1. Establishing sequence. sec. run.
1:00
Street address. Gray goes to mail box, reads letter, re-enters house. Sits on sofa and thumbs through Russian language edition of War and Peace.

This modest bungalow in Beverly Hills, California, is the home of John A. Gray, 79 year old retired newspaperman. To pass the time during his retirement, Gray recently took up the study of Russian. Not long ago, the elderly journalist got a letter from the Post Office Department informing him that on the advice of the Justice Department, it was cancelling Gray's subscription to the Soviet newspaper Literary Gazette. Gray had subscribed to the Red publication because he had read most of the Russian classics in the original... War and Peace, Anna Karenina and others... and wanted to read more up to date Russian writing. At the same time, he hoped to learn a little more about Soviet internal affairs.

(MORE)

LITERARY GAZETTE...ADD ONE

1. (contd. silent est.
footage)

2. Gray SOF
:45 SOF

He subscribed to the Literary Gazette through a New York firm, and was assured the publication has many subscribers in this country...private individuals, colleges and universities, government agencies, etc. We interviewed the retired editorial writer in his home.

(:45 S OF)

(closing cue: ...Russian suppression blowing on the back of my neck.)

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - 3 dupl.

Nichols

Boardman

Belmont

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Section tickler

1 - April 6, 1955

587

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DIRECTOR, FBI

1 - Yellow

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

By my memorandum of January 19, 1955, you were furnished information concerning the captioned organization which is financing the survey of the Federal security programs and several studies concerning the influence of Communism on the American way of life. The referenced memorandum also furnished you information concerning Robert Maynard Hutchins and Wilbur Hugh Ferry, President and Vice President of the Fund for the Republic. FBI file checks concerning the Fund's Secretary and seventeen of the eighteen members of the Board of Directors of the Fund have been completed. David F. Freeman, a New York City attorney who is also with the Ford Foundation, is Secretary of the Fund. In addition to Hutchins, who is also a Director of the Fund, the Board of Directors includes:

Paul Gray Haffman, Chairman of the Board
Harry E. Ashmore, Executive Editor, "Arkansas Gazette"
Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut
Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College
Russell Lee Dearnont, attorney, St. Louis, Missouri
Richard James Finnegan, Consulting Editor, Chicago "Sun-Times"
Erwin Nathaniel Griswold, Dean, Harvard Law School
William Henry Joyce, Jr., President, Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, California
Jeyer Keetabian, President of Hart, Schaffner, and Marx, Chicago, Illinois
Morris Albert Linton, President, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
John Lord O'Brien, attorney with Covington and Burling, Washington, D. C.
Jubal Richard Burton, President, Occidental Petroleum Company, Houston, Texas

ENCL.

RECORDED

INDEXED

APR 6 1955

NOTE:

(Cover memo Rogers to Belmont, 3/31/55 EFT:pup)
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

CONFIDENTIAL

Tamm
 Sizoo
 Winterrowd
 Tele. Room
 Holloman
 Gandy

100-391697
9 APR 11 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6873

Elmo Burns Roper, Jr., Marketing Consultant,
New York City
Robert Ernst Sherwood, The Playwrights Company,
New York City
George Herman Shuster, President, Hunter
College, New York City
Mrs. Eleanor Sunstead Stevenson, wife of the
President of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
James David Zellerbach, President of Crown-
Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco, California

No investigation has been conducted of and our files
contain no pertinent derogatory information concerning Messrs.
Freeman, Ashmore, Cole, Finnegan, Hunter, or Mrs. Stevenson.

Applicant-type investigations conducted by this Bureau
of Russell Lee Dearnant in 1930, of Meyer Leinbaum in 1943,
1951, and 1954, and of Elmo Burns Roper, Jr., in 1941, 1942, and
1951, developed no derogatory information. In July, 1943, an
informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past,
advised that a copy of the July issue of the "Communist," official
monthly organ of the Communist Party, had been mailed to Russell
Dearnant. The informant reported that copies of this magazine
were also mailed to AFL and CIO representatives and to editors of
four St. Louis, Missouri, area newspapers.

For your information the results of FBI file checks on
Chester Bowles, Edwin Nathaniel Orinold, Paul Gray Hoffman,
William Henry Joyce, Jr., Morris Albert Linton, John Lord O'Brien,
Robert Ernst Sherwood, George Herman Shuster, and James David
Zellerbach are set forth in the attached memoranda.

attaches (9)

Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6874

April 1, 1955

CHESTER BOWLES

During the period April through June, 1942, this Bureau conducted an applicant-type investigation of Bowles, born April 5, 1901, at Springfield, Massachusetts. Social and professional acquaintances contacted during the investigation highly recommended Bowles relative to his character, reputation, ability, and loyalty. No derogatory information was developed during this investigation. It is to be noted that Bowles was a former governor of the State of Connecticut (1949-1951), and the former Price Administrator, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C., where he was employed from 1943 to 1946. (77-21942)

In addition to the above, the files of this Bureau reflect that during 1946 (an informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Chester Bowles had recently become connected with both the National Organization and the Hollywood Branch of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. This organization has been cited as a Communist front by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report #1954 dated April 26, 1950. [redacted] 100-338892-42, p.7) b7D

The "Baltimore Evening Sun" for January 4, 1947, carried an article reflecting that on that date a dinner was held at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C., sponsored by the Union for Democratic Action, an affiliate with the Americans for Democratic Action. Chester Bowles spoke at this dinner and emphasized that there would be no place in the Union for Democratic Action for Communists. (100-325113-27)

The November 13, 1947, issue of "PM" quoted Bowles as having stated that the American Communists could never be a national threat to our democracy if liberal, economic, and social reforms were carried out. Bowles further stated, "I leave red-baiting to Farnell Thomas and the 'Chicago Tribune.'" According to "PM," Bowles condemned what he

PCYoung:tab/lmm
(10)

-21942

(Cover memo Roach to Belmont, EFT:pyp 3/31/55)

(RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

sp7macldd
10/7/57
#272548
8/9/58

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6875

called the "obsession with American Communism." (105-1389-18, encl. p.23)

According to confidential informants, who have furnished reliable information in the past, officials of the Connecticut State Communist Party (CP) had made statements at various CP section meetings held during September, 1948, indicating that CP members could support Bowles on the Democratic ticket for Governor of Connecticut and could also vote for the People's Party candidates during the 1948 elections. It was pointed out, however, that the CP did not know exactly how liberal Bowles was. Following the 1948 elections in which Bowles was elected Governor of Connecticut, officials of the CP and the People's Party of Connecticut then made statements at organizational meetings to the effect that the CP and the People's Party of Connecticut could take credit for Bowles' winning the election. No further details are available in this regard.

In connection with the 1948 elections, the September 27, 1948, issue of the "Yale Daily News," a New Haven, Connecticut, newspaper, reported the comments of Thomas I. Emerson, the People's Party candidate for Governor of Connecticut, which severely criticized Bowles for repudiating the support of the CP and the People's Party of Connecticut during the 1948 elections. The CP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Confidential informants, who have furnished reliable information in the past, have advised that the People's Party of Connecticut was infiltrated and dominated by the CP in the State of Connecticut.

() 100-344072-108; 100-351603-6, 14; NH-29, () b7D
* A confidential informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has advised that at a meeting of the State Board of the CP of Connecticut, held on April 9, 1954, at 38 Old Broadway, New York, New York, Jacob Goldring, then Legislative Secretary of the CP of Connecticut, announced that the CP of Connecticut would support Chester Bowles for the Gubernatorial Office in Connecticut if Bowles were nominated. He pointed out that the CP would not come out for Bowles until after he was nominated, so that his nomination would not be injured by prior CP support. According to the informant the CP felt that it could use some influence on Bowles through a person (unidentified) who was then close to Bowles and a good friend of his, and who was also a CP member. (100-3-29-935, p.46, () b7D

* 100-3-29-696, 699; 101-3315-26)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At a CP educational class held at New Haven, Connecticut, on April 29, 1954, Joe Dinan, Chairman of the State Administrative Committee of the CP in Connecticut, stated, according to an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past, that the CP favored Chester Bowles over Governor Lodge in the then coming Connecticut State elections as it felt that Bowles wouldn't go as far against Communism. Dinan added that Bowles did not aid the Communist movement but neither did he take an active position against Communism as did Governor Lodge. (100-344072-108, p.5) [redacted] 7

According to informants, who have furnished reliable information in the past, various local sections of the CP of Connecticut during April, May, and June, 1954, had worked for and attempted to secure the nomination of Bowles for the Governorship of Connecticut during the 1954 Connecticut State elections. Our files fail to indicate whether Bowles had any knowledge of this activity or if he had accepted or repudiated the support of the CP of Connecticut. [redacted] b7D

[redacted] 100-3-29-935, pgs. 46-54; 100-376915-17, 100-344072-108; 100-370408-28) [redacted] 7

NOTE:

From 1943 to June, 1950, his last recorded contact with the Bureau, Bowles has maintained cordial correspondence with the Bureau. (94-36090)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 1, 1955

ERWIN NATHANIEL GRISWOLD

No investigation has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning the above-captioned individual. Griswold was born July 14, 1904, in East Cleveland, Ohio; received A. M. degree from Oberlin College in 1925, and LL. B. degree and S. J. D. degree from Harvard in 1928 and 1929 respectively. Mr. Griswold was an attorney in the Office of the Solicitor General and Special Assistant to the Attorney General in Washington, D. C., from 1929 to 1934. He was employed as Assistant Professor of Law at the Harvard University Law School in 1934. The following year he was made Professor, which position he held until 1946. Since that date, Griswold has served as Dean of the Harvard University Law School. (Who's Who in America, 1954-1955.)

An article printed in the April 19, 1948, issue of the New York "Herald Tribune" in substance indicated that forty-five law school teachers appealed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities to grant a fair hearing to Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director of the National Bureau of Standards, whom the Committee had accused of being a "weak link" in the nation's atomic secret security. The teachers made known their request in a letter to Representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, which was made public by the American Civil Liberties Union. One of the signers of this letter was Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School.

A reliable confidential informant advised in May of 1948 that a release issued by the "Committee of One Thousand," New York, New York, stated in substance that a group of 140 noted educators, clergymen, artists, professional and business people condemned the House Committee on Un-American Activities for its treatment of Doctor Edward U. Condon, Director of the Bureau of Standards, and called for the Committee's abolition because it "directly menaces freedom of conscience and expression." Among the names of individuals who condemned the Committee's activities was Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Harvard Law School.

The Committee of One Thousand was cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as "a Communist created and controlled front organization."

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

S/HK

tab

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(10)
62-94966

Cover memo Roach to Belmont, EFT: pup 3/31/55)
Orig. to AG RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

NOTE: Unless otherwise noted, information in this summary was taken from serial 62-94966-9.

ENCLOSURE

391697-81

b6
b7c

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Russell L. Dearmont
Supervisor Attorney, St Louis Room Donnell
R# Date 2-15 Searcher Initial 5110

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

MP	77-10197	5
SI	94-1-1465-17	42
ND	100-135-42-34	
DP	100-391 697-15	
	Russell	
ND	62-444 62-1152	x
SI	62-54498-10	x
SI	100-3-43-814	
SI	94-4-3643-1	
SI	62-51643-8	
SI	62-55096-13	x
SI	62-512 66-66	x
SI	62-402 64-189	x
ND	100-41471-3	6
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED		
DATE <u>5/29/86</u> BY <u>SP-01/SP-01</u>		

MO
2-22-91

MO.

NUMEROUS REFERENCE -

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Charles W. Cole
 Supervisor Rosen Room 7633
 S# 540 Searcher
 R# 2-15 Initial 1134

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Charles Woolsey
 R# 100-391697-15
Charles W
 I 100-391697-16x7
Sum. 3-25-53
 SE 100-3645-31
Cole, Charles
 RV 100-35996
 RI 42-103996
 NR 44
 NR 58
 NR 116-166134
 P 138-0-89 Encl P41
 NR 100-52123-1320 P144
 NR 167
 NR 62-75147-37-111 Encl P182
 NR 62-75147-82x Encl P195

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8/3/86 BY SP8 BTJ/ML

CP#66,819

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

1-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Cole, Charles

Supervisor _____

Room _____

R# _____

Date 2-15

Searcher

Initial 8134

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

R 100-3-59-1176 PPD

Utd from 100 Summary
dtg 9-25-53

(7)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor, Arkansas Gazette
 Supervisor _____ Room _____
 Searcher _____
 R# _____ Date 2-15 Initial 1134

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

IV 100-391697-A-Wash EQ
Post Times Herald 10-20-54

IV 100-135-A-Wash. Post EQ
4-17-52

Ashmore, Harry
100-407065 EQ

NP 100-3-53-101 EQ

NI 66-3579-1770 P7D

NR 7-1820-21143 21425 P7D

NI 100-10353-187 P9 EQ

NI 100-120818-X341 P7D

Build-ups NR

NP 62-36434 A last Sec. EQ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/22/86 BY SP8 BTG/vlu
237 EQ

AB - Princeton U (1947)
LLB Yale U
NUMEROUS REFERENCE admitted to Bar X

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

David F Freeman

Supervisor

Room 7633

Searcher

R#

Date 2/16/58

Initial

EFT

FILE NUMBER

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SERIAL

D F NR

David

NR 100-355794

NR 26-162555

NR 9-22775

NR 67-275812

NR 29-10601

NR 40-40778

NR 100-191363

NR 88-5235-5

NR 61-7561-163X8, 185

NR 61-7566-758

NR 61-7565-171

NR 65-49428-2

NR 100-3-4-3388

NR 61-7561-164

NR 100-55923-18

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/19/86 BY SP2374/PW
C. G. G. 8/19

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: David F Freeman

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 2/16/55 Searcher Initial _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NI David
100-343341-5 encl p 11

NI 65-61672-37 encl p 219

NR 123-13069-9

NI 100-3-74-5838 encl p 21

NR 97-2904-10

NR 65-62562-58 p 15

NR 61-7566-806X

LT 9-3218-59

NI 9-3140-19 NI

NI 9-3218-73, 59

NR 65-30092-3277 p 14

NI 87-3911-52

NI 61-5381-2339

NI 65-19108-2

NR 87-1931-63 NI (2)

NI 100-16-27-19 NI (1)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher _____

Initial _____

	<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>SERIAL</u>
NI	David	
	100-7660-3864	
NI	61-10624-18	p10
NI	61-7341-9-180	529 ^{encl.} p1
NI	100-64700-1004	p350
NR	100-169808-24	p7
NR	105-25966-3	
	David Forgan (build up)	
NI	40-0-1202	p2
	David	
NR	100-335075-307	encl p20
NR		✓ 251
NI	97-401	- 303
NI	61-7341-9-539	encl p105
NI	100-51230-189	
NR	100-354851-121	encl p120, 121, 122, 127, 170
NR	100-344015-43	31
NR	105-10332-37	p47

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: David F Freeman

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Searcher _____

R# _____ Date _____ Initial _____

	<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>SERIAL</u>
NR	<u>David</u>	
	<u>44-4642-3</u>	
NI	<u>29-12114-55</u>	
NR	<u>62-75147-25-25</u>	
NR	<u>87-318-162</u>	
NI	<u>26-95106-8</u>	
NI	<u>15-18402-7</u>	
NI	<u>70-18977-80 p23</u>	NR
NR	<u>100-354851-150 encl p1, 152</u>	
	<u>NR 153, 154, 155, 190</u>	
NR	<u>100-354851-192 p91</u>	
NI	<u>100-146964-1488 p3</u>	
NR	<u>100-33049-34-114</u>	
NI	<u>100-64700-1213 encl p4/17</u>	
NI	<u>61-7582-1298 p402</u>	
NR	<u>65-58034-160 p48, 49</u>	

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Crimin. N. Arismond

*Wt.
Summ.*

Supervisor

[Redacted]

Room

Searcher

b6

R#

Date

Initial

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FILE NUMBER

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SERIAL

Summ. 3-3-53 (1-3-53)

I	62-94966	
I	62-94966-11	<i>Summ.</i>
SE	62-60527-33938	
NP	94-1-1005-151	
NP	61-7558-A	<i>Wash. Post 4-8-53</i>
NP	100-3-60-904	
NP	138-2551-14	
NP	94-1-1005-A	<i>Star 3-25-54</i>
SE	61-7558-583	
SI	100-3-1-694	
SI	100-350903-20	
SE	100-148581-A	<i>D.W. 2-15-54</i>
NP	61-190-468	<i>(Record, Vol. 18)</i>

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE *5/29/86* BY *SP8 BTG/46*
a # 266,819

DOB 7-1-04 Clev, Ohio

Langer

Ohio

D.C.

Mass.

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Triswald, Ermin N.

Supervisor _____

Room _____

R# _____

Date 2-15

Searcher _____

Initial 5/10

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Ermin Nathaniel

IX 62-94966-9 Summ.

NX 61-7558-583

NX 100-391697-15

Ermin

IX 100-404367-4

E. N.

N/R

Nathaniel

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Jayce, William H.

Supervisor

Room

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Date

2-15

Searcher

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FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

W. H.

NP

121-30494-5

NP

100-79494-43

Henry

NP

Dis Comm. Rpt. Vol 3

P. 2140

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Finnegan, Richard

Supervisor

[Redacted]

Room

R#

518

Date *2-15*

Searcher

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FILE NUMBER

utd
62-62713-5

SERIAL

Summ. 3-25-53

✓ *62-62713*

NP *7-1-(3114)(3150)(3289)*

NP *62-81968-1* *Summ.*

Richard James

SI *100-391697-15*

LF *62-62713-5* *Summ.*

Richard D. (Var.)

NP *100-70299* *I*

SE *100-47852-14* *P. 9*

James

NR *62-93534*

NR *62-17909-A*

St. James
Chas. Dem. 2-3-55

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Subj: William H. Vance Jr.
Supervisor: Page 1401 who who
Room Searcher Initial 5110
R# Date 2-15

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

124	124-5334	I
	94-1-246-122	5110
SI	100-391697-A	Wash. City Trans. Rec. 11-12-52
	William Henry (BU)	
NR	25-235468	
118	118-3877-6	
121	121-22401-11,1	
SI	121-220401-5	
SI	100-391697-15	
NR	100-346290-2	
	William	
NR	65-31206	
NR	25-65986	
NI	65-46006-134	
NP	121-6509-47A	35,43,44,86

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C #266, 919

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DOB LA 3-11-1900

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Subj: Meyer Kestelbaum
Supervisor: 1 Page 1452 Whos who
Room 7631
R# 0 Date 2/13 Searcher Initial 1232

FILE NUMBER

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I	123-8138 I
I	77-28686
I	123-8138-12 (12-31-54) <u>summ</u>
	<u>into summ 10-54</u>
NP	100-387756-13 <u>encl 32</u>
	<u>Kestelbaum, M.</u>
	<u>TR</u>

5-6-1

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Roper, Elina Bernad

p 2291

Room

Searcher

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SERIAL

Lester Long

✓65-60414-41

61-190-500

61-190-500

177-13677-249

177-13677-249

Robert E. Burns

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Robert E. B.

Robert Burns

72

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

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Subj: *Elmer R. [unclear]*

Supervisor

Room 7631

Searcher

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Date

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FILE NUMBER

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I	✓ 123-9711	I
I	✓ 62-62198	
<i>8-19-53</i>	62-62198-42	(4-19-53) <i>summ</i>
-	with summ	2-53
I	100-391697-15	15
ND	✓ 100-340922-325	
-	Letter Elms	
ND	✓ 40-52915	
-	Letter Elms	
WT	100-340922-17	
NP	✓ 100-372206-13	
NP	✓ 100-163904-1	
ND	100-328241-	
ND	100-413729-1	
✓	100-391697-15	
NP	✓ 65-62388-4	

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Jubal R. Parten
Page 2073 index index

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SERIAL

100-391697-16 x 5 (3-25-53)
utd summary 1-53

100-391697-15

Parten, Jubal R.

JR

Parten, Jubal

JR

Parten, J. Richard

JR

Parten, J. R.

JR

Parten, Richard

JR 57

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/69/84 BY SP8/ghh

CF 266,819

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: _____

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Wtd - 3-24-53
FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Eleanor Stevenson

N1 ✓ 100-387835 - 875 p25

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj

Mrs. Eleanor Summatt Stevens

Supervisor

Room

R#

Date

Searcher

Initial

2/16 1232

FILE NUMBER

(Cont)

SERIAL

Stevenson William Edward

LI 100-391697 15

Stevenson William E. Mrs

NR 121-6290

Stevenson William Mrs

NR 7-1820 - 218301X4

NR 100-3-16 - 660 encl 223

Stevenson W. Edward MrsStevenson W. E. MrsStevenson Edward Mrs

NR 31-70979

Barnstead Eleanor

SI

LI 100-391697 16X3

LI 100-391697 15

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Hoffmann, Paul G

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 2-15 Searcher Initial 8134

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Sum. dtd 1-31-5

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Shuster, George M.

Supervisor _____ Room _____

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Mr. William Edward Stevenson

b6

Subj: William Edward Stevenson

b7C

Supervisor

Room

7631

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100-391697-16x3 15, 16

SE 100-391697-A (12, 21, 52) (dash, dot, 7, 8)

Stevenson, Eleanor

M. 6, 8

Stevenson, Eleanor

NR 100-44809

100-44809-27p 26

with serial 13-5

NR 100-15877-357

NR 100-22554-65

NR 105-20932-58

NR 100-377391-8

NR 100-4861-4280

NR 100-44809-26

NR 100-389141-63

NR 100-413784-9

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/29/80 BY SP-10/100

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

School when Justice Felix Frankfurter was a professor, and also pointed out that several of these professors were associated with Alger Hiss, Class of 1929. Among those listed by Griffin was Dean Erwin N. Griswold, Class of 1928.

On September 21, 1950, a reliable confidential source advised that Harlow Shapley, Harvard Professor, Head of the Science Division, National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, had for the past three days been in daily conference with Hannah Dermer of the New York Office of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions with reference to the McCarran Bill. As a result of these conferences, protests urging the President to veto the Bill had been forwarded by the American Association of Scientific Workers, the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, and others. It was indicated that a representative delegation of at least five prominent educators would go to the White House. The source indicated that Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School allegedly was attempting to persuade Robert Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago, to lead the Chicago group. The specific purpose of the call on the White House was to secure a Truman veto so strong that the Democratic Party would be compelled to sustain the veto. This information was not otherwise verified.

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was cited as a Communist front by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of April 26, 1950.

In the Summer or early Fall of 1950, a confidential informant made available a miscellaneous mailing list of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill. It was noted that some of the individuals on this list were very prominent people and well known for their anti-Communist point of view. Among the individuals listed was Dean Griswold of the Harvard University Law School.

The National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill was cited by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of January 2, 1951, as "a registered, lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against anti-subversive legislation."

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The "Boston Herald" issue of March 5, 1951, contained an article indicating that Harvard University had been urged by Samuel P. Sears, President of the Massachusetts Bar Association, to stop "encouraging and playing host to the Communist Party." Mr. Sears, according to the article, had directed a letter to Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Law School, protesting the University's attitude of tolerance toward enemies of the republic and demanded the dissolution of the Harvard Lawyers Guild, an affiliate of the National Lawyers Guild. The article further indicated that Sears' resentment stemmed from a recent announcement of a forthcoming lecture at Harvard by Oswald K. Fraenkel, Vice-President of the National Lawyers Guild. Sears in his letter called attention to the status of the National Guild as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party," a description given by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

On March 6, 1951, the "Boston Herald" carried an article which indicated that Dean Griswold, in reply to Samuel P. Sears' letter, stated that Harvard Law School would take no action toward suppressing the Harvard Lawyers Guild. Dean Griswold made public in this article a letter which he had written to Mr. Sears, in response to the afore-mentioned letter, wherein he stated that he, Griswold, was not a member of the National Lawyers Guild and never had been, nor was he in sympathy with many of its actions. He concluded his letter by saying that he felt that it would be an improper interference with the legitimate freedom of the Harvard students to take any action towards suppressing the activities of the Harvard Lawyers Guild.

The National Lawyers Guild has been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March, 1944, and also by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of September 21, 1950.

In connection with an official applicant investigation conducted in June, 1951, Dean Erwin Griswold was interviewed concerning previous employment of the applicant with the Harvard Law School. He was asked to express himself concerning both the applicant's professional and personal reputation, as well as the applicant's loyalty as an American citizen. Dean Griswold stated that he was completely annoyed at the necessity

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of wasting his time and that of the investigator. He indicated that the inquiry concerned one of several recent investigations of outstanding individuals and that he wished to register his objection to this type of investigation "as being ridiculous, completely unnecessary, and a tremendous waste of manpower" of the investigating agency.

The "Boston Traveler" for January 28, 1955, contains an article concerning Dean Erwin N. Griswold's new book entitled "The Fifth Amendment Today." According to the article, Dean Griswold said that the United States Constitution's Fifth Amendment, which protects a person from being forced to testify against himself, is something which distinguishes our nation from Communist countries. Dean Griswold stated that "Liberty is freedom or protection of the individual against arbitrary or improper exercise of the organized power of the state." He continued "... a tyrant is a man who exercises the collective power of the state in an arbitrary, capricious or purely selfish manner." (62-94966-A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PAUL GRAY HOFFMAN

April 1, 1955

Summary

Mr. Hoffman is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic and has served in that capacity since his retirement as President and Director of the Ford Foundation in February, 1953. An applicant-type investigation was conducted by this Bureau concerning Mr. Hoffman in July, 1953, at the request of the Secretary of State. No pertinent information concerning Mr. Hoffman has been received subsequent to our investigation of him. A summary of that investigation was furnished to you by memorandum dated July 31, 1953, and set forth below is a brief summary of the information included in that memorandum.

Of the over sixty individuals interviewed during the FBI investigation of Hoffman, the vast majority considered him as one who possesses excellent traits of character, as one who associates with high-type individuals, as a loyal American citizen, and as well qualified for a position of trust with the United States Government. One person noted that Hoffman had received some public criticism for "stealing" the Ford Foundation with "so-called left wingers," while director of that organization from 1950 to 1953. Hoffman's leaving the Ford Foundation was attributed by some to the change of the Foundation's headquarters from California to New York, while others advised that the purpose of the change was to force Hoffman out as director. Two individuals, although they considered Hoffman loyal, said they did not recommend him on the basis of his actions in "giving out the taxpayer's money" while Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration.

Alfred H. Kohlberg, Chairman of the American Jewish League Against Communism, New York City, stated that he first knew Hoffman in 1941 and 1943 when Hoffman did an outstanding job in raising funds for the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, United China Relief, and other charitable organizations. Although Kohlberg considered Hoffman loyal, he described him as "displaying complete aloofness in the recognition of Communism in the United States." One of the agencies reportedly maintained by Hoffman under the United China Relief

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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

EFT:tab tab
(10) Orig. AG

(Cover memo Roach to Belmont,

EFT:pyp 3/31/55) RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

1 - William P. Rogers
(Deputy AG)

ENCLOSURE

NOTE: All information included in a
this memorandum is taken from ZZ-58760-63

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was INDUSCO, also known as the American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. Informants of known reliability have advised that INDUSCO was a Communist front which diverted funds to Communist-held territories.

2 In 1943 Hoffman was elected a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations which changed its name to American Institute of Pacific Relations (AIPR) in 1947. He remained a trustee of the AIPR, which is alleged to have been controlled by a small cove of Communists and pro-Communist personnel, until 1948. Each year from 1943 through 1947 Hoffman contributed \$100 to the AIPR and was reported to be fairly active in getting others to contribute to it. 43 W

Hoffman's name was on a piece of paper found in the possession of Daniel Guerin, a French national who spoke at Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party meetings at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1948. The Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. The significance of this slip of paper found in Guerin's possession is not known.

3 In February, 1949, Hoffman was critical of the Government loyalty program as applied to Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) employees and asked Congress to eliminate the loyalty provision that barred persons who had formerly been members of organizations now on the Attorney General's list. The proposed change was to alter the requirement that the Administrator of ECA must testify in writing, to both foreign relations committees in Congress that he believed his employees were "loyal to the United States, its Constitution and form of Government." Hoffman stated that he did not consider past membership in an organization later considered subversive to be "a public test of loyalty." 49

An informant of unknown reliability, a student, advised that on September 17, 1958, Hoffman's son, Mellick, was the leader of a discussion held at Occidental College in Los Angeles. The informant said that Mellick Hoffman announced at the outset of the discussion that the lecture would have a "political flavor and that the work would run from Socrates to Marx." The informant felt that the lecture was not conducted objectively and that they attacked the "Declaration of Independence, discredited it, and necked it."

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April 1, 1955

WILLIAM HENRY JOYCE, JR.

An applicant-type inquiry, which was conducted relative to the captioned individual during November, 1950, in connection with the European Recovery Program, revealed no derogatory information concerning Joyce. Mr. Joyce is the President of Joyce, Inc., a shoe-marketing firm in Pasadena, California. Associates described Mr. Joyce as an outstanding citizen and competent businessman. (124-5334)

In 1950 this Bureau conducted a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation of his brother, Robert Prather Joyce, who was employed at the Department of State. Information was received that in 1945 Robert Joyce had written a letter of recommendation for Jean Lieberman, who was identified as a courier in the Soviet espionage apparatus during the 1930's. In November, 1950, the Civil Service Commission advised that Robert Prather Joyce was eligible on loyalty. (121-22401)

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SHRogers:lmw
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NOTE: (Cover memo Roach to Belmont 3/31/55 EFT:pyP)
(RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

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 Sizoo
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Gallagher
Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

Paul G. Hoffman

Supervisor

[Redacted]

Room

7633

Searcher

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Date 2-15

Initial

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FILE NUMBER

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SERIAL

Paul Gray

~~62-98838~~

~~77-58960~~

~~77-58960-71 Summary~~

1-31-55

Hoffman, Paul G.

NP 100-6599

NP 123-406-20

NP 105-24012-126

NP 62-36434-a. Was

News 2-2-55

Hoffman, Paul

~~65-12478~~

~~65-613~~

NR 117-1605

AP 62-10175

NP 100-23167-39

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/29/86 BY SP8B/LLK
266,279

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: James D Zellerbach
 Page 2907 who's who
 Supervisor R. Young Room 7631
 Searcher
 R# _____ Date 2/15 Initial 2103

FILE NUMBER 1-26-53 SERIAL

James David	(Buildings)
✓ 124-524	F
✓ 77-58967	
✓ 100-391697-16X7	3-26-53 Summary.
✓ 94-3-4-1115-51	P.H. 56 (Photo)
✓ 100-391697-15	
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED	
DATE 5/29/86 BY SP5/SP4	
✓ 124-8285-5	3-26-89
✓ 100-325498-21	
Q.D.	
✓ 94-3-4-1115-51	P.H. 56 (Photo)
✓ 100-64700-1126	P.H. 61
✓ 100-412082-5	P. 33-36
✓ 40, 44, 67, 69, 73, 78	
✓ 138-2409-21	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6877

April 1, 1955

MORRIS ALBERT LINTON

Morris Albert Linton was born in Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 4, 1887. He attended Haverford College from which he received a B.S. degree in 1908 and an M.A. in 1910. He also did graduate study at Federal Polytechnic, Zurich, Switzerland and the University of Michigan. He became affiliated with the Provident Life and Trust Company (presently Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia) in 1909 and has been President of this organization since 1931. He has been active in numerous insurance organizations both national and international.

The Bureau has conducted no investigation of Linton; however, our files reflect that a throwaway entitled "Act Today -- Tomorrow May Be Too Late," issued in February, 1947, by the "Break with Conscription Committee" which urged writing letters to Congressmen opposing peace-time conscription, listed prominent Philadelphians opposed to peace-time military training. Among those listed was M. Albert Linton. The Philadelphia Office of this Bureau advised that the throwaway was possibly a part of a rumored campaign by the Communist Party and other left wing groups to defeat military training legislation. (100-391697-16X4)

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NOTE: (Cover memo Roach to Belmont, EFT:pyp 3/31/55)
(RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

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SEARCH SLIP

6878

Subj: *M. Albert Linton*

Supervisor *Page 1613 who who* Room

R# *20510089* Date *2/15* Searcher Initials *1232*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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DATE *10/7/87* BY *sp7mac/dd*

100-391697-16 x4 (summon)

and summon 1-53

100-391697-15

Linton Morris A.

NR

Linton Morris

SF

Linton M. Albert

SI

Linton M. A.

NR

Linton Albert

NR 42-6352

NR 75-19890

NR 51-401-5p33

NR 75-21227-6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN

APR 1 1, 1955

No investigation has been conducted by the FBI concerning John Lord O'Brian. Our records, however, contain the following information concerning him which may be of interest:

Mr. O'Brian, an attorney, was born October 14, 1874, at Buffalo, New York. He received an A.B. degree from Harvard University, 1896, and an LL.B. degree from the University of Buffalo in 1898. He is a member of the law firm of Covington and Burling, Washington, D. C. He was United States Attorney for the Western District of New York from 1909 to 1914; head of the War Emergency Division, Department of Justice, from 1917 to 1919; and Assistant Attorney General of the United States from 1929 to 1933. He held other Government positions during World War II. He resides at 2101 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., and has his office at 701 Union Trust Building, both Washington, D. C. (Who's Who in America, 1954-55; Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory, 1954)

According to a confidential and reliable source, as of 1936, Mr. O'Brian was a member of the Committee on Labor, Employment and Social Security of the National Lawyers Guild, which was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its 1944 report. No information regarding subsequent membership of O'Brian in the Guild is reflected. (100-391697-5)

In 1942 and 1943, while he was General Counsel of the War Production Board, Mr. O'Brian furnished this Bureau information in connection with an internal security-type investigation. (65-4389-43)

On January 23, 1948, Mr. O'Brian made an address on "Loyalty Tests and National Unity" at the 71st Annual Meeting at the House of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, in which he discussed loyalty tests as a threat to our constitutional theory of the rights of the individual. During the address Mr. O'Brian criticized the loyalty program and certain phases of its administration.

MSO:pyp:bph NOTE: (Review limited to an up-to-date search from summary dated March 25, 1953.)

(Cover memo Roach to Belmont, EFT:pyp 3/31/55)
(RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

NOTE: (~~Classified "Secret" as reports from which information used concerning Oppenheimer are so classified.~~)

ENCLOSURE

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He acknowledged that it is necessary to eliminate from public employment persons whose actions or advocacy constitute a real peril to the welfare of the United States; however, he questioned whether the adopted and proposed measures prescribing standards of loyalty were either necessary or proper methods with which to carry on the program. He pointed out that the loyalty executive order expanded the endeavor to establish in our jurisprudence the doctrine of guilt by imputation of beliefs of guilt by association.

Mr. O'Brien stated that some may urge that a determination that the accused was in sympathetic association with a group designated by the Attorney General as subversive is not a finding of guilt against the accused but it is in practical effect analogous to that of a criminal conviction - lasting disgrace to the individual and a continued handicap upon his ability to earn a livelihood. Mr. O'Brien stated that the more serious aspect of the program is that the administration of its provisions would depend largely upon secret investigations and secret reports.

He pointed out that during the past quarter century, Congress has seen fit to authorize the establishment of investigating agencies of considerable size in various departments of the Government, and that in particular it has been steadily encouraging the expansion of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as the chief over-all investigating agency of the Government. He specifically pointed out that the questions he presented did not in any way reflect or imply criticism of the integrity and conscientious conduct of the Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or of any other investigating agency. However, he stated his remarks were directed solely to the alleged necessity of maintaining these agencies on their present scale and with their present characteristics.

Mr. O'Brien stated that because the reports of these investigating agencies were to be the basis for applying tests of loyalty or disloyalty, their intrinsic character was a matter of first importance. He advised that to understand their general character is all the more important because the public has been repeatedly assured by the "very efficient head of the FBI" that the FBI simply reports the information without attempting to make or indicate any determination based upon contents of its files.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He stated that if a file is conscientiously compiled it will contain not only information directly pertinent to loyalty or disloyalty, but much incidental information as to private habits or lapses of moral conduct of the person investigated as well as opinions of various anonymous persons on these subjects. He said that it seemed reasonable to believe that the fact that assurances of secrecy are given to the persons questioned must sometime lead to exaggeration. Because of the fact that ordinarily informants are not named it is, to say the least, difficult for a reviewing officer to determine what weight should be attached to the statements made.

Mr. O'Brian also pointed out that because of the numerous investigations and hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the FBI and other investigating agencies, a tremendous number of dossiers were being accumulated concerning public servants, which compilation was a definite threat to their civil rights. He pointed out that there is something peculiarly sinister and insidious to disloyalty and these charges are many times indelible and lasting, regardless of innocence later proven.

Mr. O'Brian stated that one of the gravest questions arising from the loyalty program was the question of how an accused individual can adequately answer charges without knowing who expressed the opinions or gave the information on which a general charge against him has been based. He stated that the greatest safeguard in our law is the right of cross-examination. He also asserted if we are going to maintain a large-scale organization to gather information secretly and make reports of a secret character, we must pay the price for it. He stated that one of the inevitable results is that the accused will be denied some of those rights which he had supposed were guaranteed to him by the Constitution.

Mr. O'Brian advised that the inevitable effect of these so-called loyalty tests is to place some new degree of constraint upon the thought as well as upon the utterance of the individual. He emphasized that the determination of the fate of an individual upon secret evidence constitutes a grave departure from our constitutional theory of the right of the individual, and attempts to ameliorate the dangers of this innovation by means of appeals or other palliative measures of procedure will not eliminate this evil. (94-4-2757-12)

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Our records also reflect that in August, 1948, Martin Pepper and his associates attempted to enlist the aid of prominent attorneys, including Mr. O'Brian, on behalf of Communist Party leaders who were then under indictment in New York City. However, it was determined that Mr. O'Brian was on vacation at that time and Pepper took no further action toward securing his services. Martin Pepper was then Executive Secretary of the National Lawyers Guild (65-4389-43; 105-1913)

Our records further reflect that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his attorneys consulted Mr. O'Brian in connection with Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance case. A confidential and reliable informant advised that early in January, 1954, Dr. Oppenheimer conferred with Mr. O'Brian at which time O'Brian stated that he was extremely interested in Oppenheimer's case, but was unable to take it because of the disapproval of his partners. Dr. Oppenheimer was found to be a security risk by an Atomic Energy Commission Personnel Security Board on May 27, 1954, following which his clearance was revoked by the Atomic Energy Commission on June 29, 1954.

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100-17828-786, 1160)

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6879

ROBERT EMMET SHERWOOD

April 1, 1955

No investigation has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning the above-captioned individual. Sherwood was born April 4, 1890, in New Rochelle, New York. He is a well-known writer and winner of Pulitzer Prizes in 1936, 1939, 1941, and 1945. He was appointed as a director of the Fund for the Republic in December, 1954. His address is 620 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The 1939-1941 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), pages 638 and 1640, reflects the following under the topical heading "Communist Cultural Activities":

"An offsprung of the New Theatre League and its rules is the New Theatre School... Among those assisting in the development was Robert Sherwood." The New Theatre League has been cited as a Communist front by the HCUA. (100-343001-296, p.21,22)

On April 13, 1941, "The San Francisco Examiner" newspaper, San Francisco, California, carried an article which reported that the American Legion was considerably aroused over plays and broadcasts put on by the "Free Company." The American Legion labeled these plays and broadcasts as un-American, Communistic, and operating under the guise of appearing for free speech but actually campaigning for the right of Communism and other subversive elements to attack and destroy democracy. This article stated that Robert Emmet Sherwood was Chairman of the Writers Division of this organization. (100-210139-1)

A confidential source in 1941 furnished a list of individuals, which included Robert Sherwood, 25 Sutton Place, New York City, who contributed to the fund for the defense of Clifford T. McAuoy, former Deputy Commissioner of Welfare, City of New York. McAuoy, Vice-President of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights (NYCIR), was accused of supporting left-wing groups and this fund was raised by the NYCIR for his legal defense on this charge. The NYCIR has been cited as a Communist front by the HCUA. (100-10117-3)

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WPS:tab
(11)

Orig. AG

1 - William P. Rogers

(Cover memo Roach to Belmont EFT:pyp 3/31/55)
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

John Lind O'Brien

Supervisor

Room

Searcher

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Date

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

O'Brian, John

Supervisor

Room

Searcher

R#

Date

Initial

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FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

*O'Brian, John**SI**O'Brian, John**TR**O'Brian, J. H.**TR**O'Brian, John**TR**✓ 65-56402-766**✓ 65-4389-24, 28**✓ 105-1913-90*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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3)* Robert Sherwood was one of the signers of a statement presented by the National Institute of Arts and Letters (NIAL) which appeared in the February 27, 1948, issue of the "Daily People's World," west coast Communist publication, denouncing the Thomas Committee of Congress for investigating un-American activities in America. The NIAL has been cited as a Communist front for writers, artists, and musicians by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

(100-15252-56, p.401)

On September 7, 1948, Maurice Malkin of Brooklyn, New York, testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Communist activities among alien and national groups. Malkin was asked if he could name some people who were prominent in Communist front movements. He responded that he could name quite a few such as Robert Sherwood. Malkin did admit, however, that many of these people that he named were not definitely members of the Communist Party. (62-88217-21)

In the Spring of 1950 the Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate, Second Session, 81st Congress, conducted hearings on State Department Employee Loyalty investigations. Owen Lattimore was questioned concerning his being a subversive or a Communist. Lattimore stated that well-known people such as Robert M. Sherwood rebutted and refuted "the insane charges against my loyalty and intelligence." A letter by Sherwood concerning Lattimore was introduced into evidence which concluded by saying that "any charges insinuating against his (Lattimore's) loyalty to our country, our Constitution, and our American way of life are as outrageous as they are fantastic." (121-23278-267X12, pp. 826, 1657, 1658, 1732)

Honorable Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, on April 20, 1950, received a teletype signed by producers, directors, actors, writers, musicians, and agents requesting the court to reverse its decision concerning the "Hollywood Ten." Included in this list was Robert Sherwood. (100-138754-637)

During the month of October, 1947, a hearing was held by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., concerning Communist infiltration of the motion picture industry. Nine prominent screen writers and a Hollywood director were cited for "contempt" by that committee for refusing to answer questions regarding their alleged Communist Party membership. During the hearing

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either a Communist membership card or a Communist registration card was introduced for each of the ten individuals. On December 3, 1947, a special Federal Grand Jury in Washington, D. C., indicted all ten individuals for "contempt of Congress."

The "Daily People's World," for November 20, 1952, reflects one Robert Sherwood, not further identified, was a member of the Civil Rights Congress (CRC). The CRC has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Liaison Sectt.

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April 1, 1955

RE: GEORGE NAUMAN SHUSTER

Dr. Shuster is President of Hunter College, New York City. During the winter of 1949 - 1950, this Bureau conducted an applicant-type investigation of Shuster. On June 14, 1954, Photostats of reports in that investigation were furnished to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III in order that consideration might be given as to whether any Federal laws had been violated by Shuster, who was at that time an applicant with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Paris, France. By letter dated August 20, 1954, the Civil Service Commission advised that the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board had indicated that a favorable advisory loyalty determination concerning Shuster had been forwarded to the head of UNESCO.

(124-3998; 138-0-592)

Briefly, the above-mentioned reports reflect the following information:

Friends and associates of Shuster, who were contacted during this investigation, described him as being a brilliant and versatile scholar, fair minded, tolerant and objective. They considered him to be of outstanding character and reputation in his professional and personal life. They recommended him as a genuinely loyal and patriotic American, hostile to Fascism, Communism and all un-American political philosophies. In 1949, Benjamin Mandel, then Research Director for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, advised that he had had no personal contact with Shuster but had read some of his work and "did not consider him pre-Communist or pro-Nazi."

During the late 1930's and early 1940's Shuster was accused of being affiliated with Communists and individuals having pro-Nazi and pro-Communist leanings. In 1945, General Mark Clark

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NOTE ON YELLOW:

All information taken from 100-391697-16 X9, unless otherwise stated.

(Cover memo Roach to Belmont, EFT:pyp 3/31/55), RE: FUND FOR THE
Original to Attorney General REPUBLIC)

cc - Deputy AG Rogers

EFTBY:bmm (10)

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placed a ban on Shuster's visit to Vienna while he was employed as an expert consultant with the Historical Division, War Department, because of pro-Nazi allegations. This ban was subsequently lifted after Shuster refuted the charges with quotations from books he had written on Germany. An article in the "New York Times" of May 19, 1943, reported that Dr. Shuster had voiced his support for a resolution adopted by the New York City Board of Higher Education calling for an investigation of Communist activities on the campuses to see if such radical organizations as did exist were adhering strictly to the rules and bylaws of the Board and city colleges. In a speech in New York City on January 30, 1947, Shuster called upon all religions to aid in combating Communism.

Publications of the American Youth Congress indicated that Shuster was a sponsor and member of the Advisory Board of that organization from 1937 to 1941. The American Youth Congress has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. In 1939 Shuster was affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, an organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers. Shuster was active in the International Student Service, 1942, and a sponsor of the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields which was held in New York City in 1943. Both of these organizations were Communist infiltrated.

On March 18, 1953, Dr. Shuster spoke at the Fifth Conference on Civil Liberties held in Washington, D. C., by the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. In this speech, he stated that he favored outlawing the Communist Party as an aid to the maintenance of academic freedom and opposed investigation of educational institutions by Congress.

(New York letter October, 1954, [62-77787-240-1552]) ~~XX~~

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April 1, 1955

JAMES DAVID ZELLERBACH

Mr. Zellerbach was born in San Francisco, California, on January 17, 1892. He received his B.S. degree from the University of California in 1913. Since 1936, he has been President and Director of the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco, California. From 1945 to 1948, he served as Employer Delegate and Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body, International Labor Organization. From 1948 until 1950, he served as Chief, Economic Cooperation Administration in Italy.

Mr. Zellerbach is the subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by this Bureau in 1948 and 1953. By letter dated July 21, 1953, you were furnished a summary memorandum reflecting the results of the investigation in 1953.

Briefly that summary reflected that Mr. Zellerbach's associates considered him a loyal, capable citizen. Also included in the summary was information showing that Mr. Zellerbach contributed, through his company, \$100 per month from July, 1944, to August, 1945, to the California Labor School, which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450; was, with his wife, present at a San Francisco reception for Vyacheslav M. Molotov in May, 1945; was a contributing member from 1947 to 1953, with the exception of the year 1952, and was on the Board of Directors of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) from 1947 to 1949; and was a member of the Citizens Committee to Protect Lincoln Annex Murals, which were murals which had been painted on the walls of the Federal Post Office, Lincoln Annex in San Francisco, by Anton Refregier, whom a reliable source described as having Communist sympathies. The source described the paintings as definitely undemocratic.

The IPR was founded in 1925 in Hawaii as an organization engaged in research on the economic, political, and social aspects of countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. As a result of documentary evidence and testimony from witnesses

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B.A. Wells:pyp:bph

(Cover Memo Roach to Belmont 3/31/55, EFT:pyp)
(RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

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who appeared during 1951 and 1952 before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, this Committee concluded in its report dated July 2, 1952, that while most members of the IPR (including the American Council of the IPR, succeeded by the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc.) and its Board of Trustees were inactive and without any influence over the policies of the organization, and while the names of eminent individuals were by design used as a responsible and impressive screen for the activities of the IPR inner core, the activities, administration and policies of the IPR were controlled by a small core of Communists or pro-Communist personnel; that the IPR was considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials as an instrument of Soviet policy, propaganda and military intelligence; that the IPR was used as a channel for Communist and Soviet propaganda and its leadership used IPR prestige to promote the interests of the Soviet Union; that the IPR had for its chief function the influencing of United States public opinion and was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies; and that persons associated with the IPR were instrumental in keeping United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China.

The summary previously furnished you also stated that Mr. Zellerbach's wife and his brother, donated small amounts on one occasion in the middle 1940's to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. A reliable source advised that in 1944, Mr. Zellerbach's niece was a member of the Communist Party in San Francisco. However, as pointed out in the above-mentioned summary, Mr. Zellerbach's niece was reportedly considered to be the "black sheep" of the Zellerbach family and to be estranged from him.

You were further advised by the above-mentioned summary that on July 12, 1939, the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, Mr. Zellerbach and two of his brothers were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in San Francisco, California, for violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. On May 2, 1941, the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation was fined \$5,000 on each of two counts in the indictment and on the same date, the indictment concerning Mr. Zellerbach and his brothers was dismissed.

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: George N. Shustone

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Supervisor

Room 7633

Searcher

R#

Date 2-7-5

Initial SD33

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

George Nauman

100-113127

124-3998

100-113127-6 Summary

8-20-51

100-391697-16 X9 Summary

3-30-53

121-3-78 Summary

7-24-89

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40-9930

C#266, 879

46-18122

100-47852-17 Summary

5-12-42

66-17440-563 Summary

3-16-57

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Subj: zellerbach, James D.

Supervisor _____ Room _____

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J. D.
SI 121-42822-38

SI ✓ 100-64700-1215 E.P.#

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utd from summary 1-26-53

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT
FROM : R. R. ROACH
SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: March 31, 1955

~~SECRET~~

SEE REVIEW

Tolson

Boardman

Nichols

Belmont

Harbo

Mohr

Parsons

Rosen

Tamm

Sizoo

Winterrowd

Tele. Room

Holloman

Gandy

By memoranda dated January 10, 19, 27, 28, 1955, and March 10, 1955, information was furnished to the Attorney General concerning individuals and projects sponsored by the captioned organization. The memorandum of 1/19/55 included the results of Bufile checks on Robert Maynard Hutchins and Wilbur Hugh Ferry, President and Vice President of the Fund for the Republic. In view of the Bureau's interest in the activities sponsored by the Fund, file checks have now been completed concerning David F. Freeman, Fund Secretary, and 17 of the Fund's 18 (Hutchins is the other Director) Directors as listed in a background memorandum recently prepared by the Fund on its research into the extent and nature of domestic Communism. Brief background and pertinent derogatory information concerning Freeman and the 17 Directors of the Fund is included in the attached memorandum for the Attorney General.

David F. Freeman, Secretary of the Fund, was born in 1918 and is attorney for the Ford Foundation. He was admitted to the Bar in 1947. He has not been investigated and our files contain no identifiable information concerning him.

The results of Bufile checks on the 17 Directors of the Fund, listed alphabetically, are briefly set forth below. Many of the Fund's Directors have been subjects of previous summary memoranda. In these instances only a synopsis of the previous memoranda and any additional pertinent information has been set forth.

Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Editor of the Little Rock "Arkansas Gazette," and a Fund Director since December, 1954, has not been investigated by Bureau and our files contain no substantive derogatory information concerning him. His recent book "The Negro and the Schools" was subsidized by the Ford Foundation. On 4/16/52 he spoke at a national conference on "The Courts and Racial Integration in America" sponsored by Howard University's Journal of Negro Education. He warned that the sudden elimination of segregation in the public schools in the South would involve a "social revolution." In November, 1953, a

Attachments 4-4-55

EFT:pyp

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- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

- 1 - Liaison Section Tickler
- 1 - Yellow

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Hope, Arkansas, attorney complained that the line of thought followed by the "Arkansas Gazette" appeared "to be left of center." He alleged that the paper's editorials frequently criticized Senate investigations of security matters and that its articles were always more critical of investigative agencies than other papers. No investigation was conducted based on these allegations. (Washington Post, 4/17/52; 100-135-A; Washington Post and Times Herald, 10/20/54; 100-391697-A; (100-407065-2))

Chester Bowles, formerly Office of Price Administration administrator (1943-46) and Governor of Connecticut (1949-51), was subject of a nonderogatory applicant investigation in 1942. In 1946 Bowles was affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a Communist front. In 1947 Bowles stated there would be no place in the Union for Democratic Action, an affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action, for Communists. He also condemned what he called the "obsession" with American Communism" and stated that Red-baiting should be left to Parnell Thomas and the "Chicago Tribune." The Communist Party (CP) and People's Party of Connecticut supported Bowles in the 1948 and 1954 gubernatorial elections. In September, 1948, he was criticized by the People's Party candidate for repudiating their support. The People's Party of Connecticut was reportedly dominated by the CP. Bowles received CP support in the 1954 elections because they felt that while he did not aid the Communist movement, neither did he take as active a position against Communism as did Governor Lodge.

Charles W. Cole, President of Amherst College and a Fund Director since December, 1952, has not been investigated by FBI. When contacted in August, 1946, during a security-type investigation of Professor Colston Estey Warne, Dr. Cole stated he had been a long-time friend and associate of Warne and he considered Warne's loyalty to the United States Government was beyond question. Investigation reflected that Warne had been affiliated with Communist front organizations and that Louis Budenz had identified him as a Communist. In July, 1948, the National President of Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity reported that Dr. Cole was one of Amherst officials responsible for removing restrictions on membership rules from the Fraternity's charter, resulting in its pledging a Negro student at Amherst. This action was thought to be result of Communist sponsored influence. In correspondence with Dr. Cole during January, 1949, the Director denied ever making a statement attributed to him by an alumnus of Amherst to the effect that Communism was "rife" at Amherst College. Dr. Cole was cordial in his reply, stating he was confident there was no basis for the rumors about Communists at Amherst. (Previous summary, March, 1953; 100-391697-16x7)

Russell Lee Dearmont, a St. Louis, Missouri, attorney, has served as General Counsel of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company since

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1936 and as Chairman of the Board of the Federal Reserve Bank in St. Louis. In 1939 a Departmental applicant investigation of Dearmont, under consideration for a judicial position, developed no derogatory information. Reports of this investigation were furnished to the Department in 1939. In July, 1943, a copy of "Communist," official monthly organ of CP, was mailed to Russell Dearmont. Copies of this magazine were also mailed to AFL and CIO representatives, and to four St. Louis area newspaper editors. (Previous summary 3/25/53; 77-10197-4)

Richard James Finnegan, consulting editor of the Chicago "Sun-Times," has not been investigated by Bureau. He has been associated with various Chicago newspapers as a reporter and editor since 1901. Finnegan received the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee award for meritorious services in the civil liberties field during 1939. In September, 1943, Finnegan was listed as receiving the "Daily Worker" an east coast Communist newspaper. It is not known whether this was a complimentary or paid-for listing. (100-6605-4; 61-4478-293 page 49)

Erwin Nathaniel Griswold, Dean of Harvard Law School since 1946, has not been investigated by Bureau. Griswold was affiliated with the following cited organizations: in 1948, with the Committee of One Thousand in opposition to hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) concerning Dr. Edward U. Condon, whom that Committee accused of being the "weak link" in the nation's atomic secret security; in 1950, his name was on mailing list of National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill; in September, 1951, he attempted to persuade Robert Hutchins, Fund President, to lead a group from the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, in opposition to the McCarran Bill, and in 1951, he upheld Harvard Lawyers Guild, an affiliate of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). In September, 1948, Griswold reportedly stated that he was in sympathy with Alger Hiss. While there is no indication that Griswold testified in behalf of Hiss, he was reported to have been in court one day during the Hiss trial and to have conferred with Hiss and the latter's lawyer during a recess. When contacted in June, 1951, during the course of a routine applicant-type investigation, Griswold criticized the Bureau and complained that both his time and that of the Agent was being wasted. Griswold has been on list not to be contacted without prior Bureau authority since July, 1951.

His recent book, "The Fifth Amendment," states that the United States Constitution's Fifth Amendment, which protects a person from testifying against himself, is something which distinguishes our nation from the Communist countries. (Previous summary dated 3/53, 62-94966-9)

Paul Gray Hoffman, Chairman of the Fund Board of Directors since February, 1953, was subject of applicant-type investigation conducted in July, 1953, at request of the Secretary of State., On 7/31/53

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also memo to AG on 4/11/55

a 26-page summary reflecting results of that investigation) was sent to the Attorney General, White House, and Secretary of State. While most persons interviewed considered Hoffman to be of excellent character, and well qualified for a position of trust with the Government, one person noted he had received public criticism for stacking the Ford Foundation with "so-called left wingers," while its Director from 1950 to 1953; and two individuals would not recommend him because of his actions in "giving out the taxpayer's money" while administrator of Economic Cooperation Administration. Alfred M. Kohlberg, Chairman of American Jewish League Against Communism, although considering Hoffman loyal, described him as "displaying complete naivete in the recognition of Communism in the United States." Hoffman reportedly supported INDUSCO (American Committee in Aid to Chinese Industrial Cooperatives) an organization which allegedly diverted funds to Communist held territories. He was a trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1943 to 1948, contributing \$100 each year to its support. In 1948, his name was found in possession of a French Nationalist who spoke at Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party (cited by the Attorney General) meetings in Philadelphia. Hoffman was critical of Government Loyalty program in February, 1949, stating he did not consider past membership in an organization later considered subversive to be "a public test of loyalty." In 1952 his son, Hallock, was reported by student at Occidental College to have been leader of discussions attacking and discrediting the Declaration of Independence. (Summary dated 7/31/53, 77-58960-63)

William Henry Joyce, Jr., President of Joyce, Inc., a shoe-marketing firm in Pasadena, California, was subject of applicant-type inquiry conducted during November, 1950, in connection with the European Recovery Program (ERP). The investigation revealed no derogatory information concerning him. His brother, Robert Prather Joyce, was subject of a loyalty investigation in 1950 while employed by the Department of State. In 1945, Robert Joyce wrote a letter of recommendation for a Jean Lieberman, who was identified as a courier in the Soviet espionage apparatus during the 1930's. The Civil Service Commission (CSC) advised Robert Joyce was eligible on loyalty. (124-5334; 121-22401)

Meyer Kestnbaum, President of Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Company, Chicago, Illinois, since 1941, was subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by Bureau in 1943, 1951, and 1954, in which no derogatory information was developed. Results of these investigations were furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated 4/21/54. In January, 1953, Kestnbaum participated in panel discussions on the need for freedom of expression in America at American Veteran's Committee meetings. (Summary dated 3/25/53; 123-8138-9; 77-28686)

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Morris Albert Linton, President of Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia since 1931, has not been investigated by Bureau. A throwaway issued in February, 1947, by the "Break with Conscription Committee," urging letters to Congressmen opposing peacetime conscription, listed Linton among prominent Philadelphians opposed to peacetime military training. This throwaway was reported to be part of an alleged campaign by the CP and other Communist groups to defeat military training legislation. (Summary dated 3/25/53; 100-391697-16x4)

John Lord O'Brian, an Assistant Attorney General of the United States (1929-33) and a member of the law firm of Covington and Burling, Washington, D. C., has not been investigated by Bureau. Since 1939, there has been sporadic, friendly correspondence between the Bureau and O'Brian. In 1938, O'Brian was a member of the Committee on Labor, Employment and Social Security of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) (cited by the HCUA). In January, 1948, in an address before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, he was critical of the loyalty program. In August, 1948, the Executive Secretary of the NLG and his associates attempted to enlist the aid of prominent attorneys, including O'Brian, on behalf of CP members then under indictment in New York City. No further action was taken towards securing O'Brian's services as he was on vacation. In January, 1954, O'Brian was consulted by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his attorneys in connection with Oppenheimer's security clearance case. O'Brian stated that he was extremely interested in Oppenheimer's case but was unable to take it because of the disapproval of his partners. (65-4389-43; 100-17828-786, 1160)

Jubal Richard Parten, President of the Woodley Petroleum Company, Houston, Texas, has not been investigated by the Bureau and our files contain no derogatory information concerning him. He was a member of the American Delegation to the Reparations Commission in Potsdam and Moscow in 1945. In 1946, he was reported to be a close personal friend of then Attorney General Tom Clark. (Summary dated 3/25/53; 100-391697-16x5)

Elmo Burns Roper, Jr., well-known marketing consultant and public opinion analyst, was subject of applicant investigations in 1941, 1942, and 1951, in which no derogatory information developed. Roper was a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) as of December, 1954. The ACLU's thirty-fourth annual report (1954) reaffirmed its anti-Communist and anti-Fascist policy but still maintained it would defend civil liberties of all individuals.

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Roper's name appeared in mail covers or in address books of a few subjects of security-type investigations. However, Bureau files reflect no other contacts between Roper and these individuals. On 3/16/52, over NBC Network, Roper named the Director as third on a list of twelve "most admired Americans." The 12/15/52 "New York Herald Tribune" carried a Roper story entitled "Public Indorses the FBI's Handling of Communists." (62-62198-42; 123-9711; 100-391697-15; 61-190500; 100-372206-13; 100-163904-132; 65-62388-4; 77-13677-249)

Robert Emmet Sherwood, a well-known writer and winner of four Pulitzer Prizes, has not been investigated by Bureau. Bureau files reflect that Sherwood has been affiliated with the following cited organizations: New Theatre League, 1941; New York Conference for Inalienable Rights, 1941; and National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1948. One Robert Sherwood was member of Civil Rights Congress in 1952. In 1941, Sherwood was connected with "Free Company," alleged by American Legion to have put on Communistic plays and broadcasts. In 1949, he was named by a Senate Subcommittee as one prominent in Communist front movements. ^{before} A letter written by Sherwood was introduced into evidence in the defense of Owen Lattimore before a Senate Subcommittee in 1950. He signed statement requesting reversal of conviction for contempt of Congress of "Hollywood Ten." While with Office of War Information (OWI) in 1943, Sherwood reportedly refused employment to former Bureau informant Robert M. (Gunther Reinhardt) stating that "anyone who has worked as long with the Bureau just doesn't sever connections." On hearing of alleged statement of OWI employee in 1943 that "the Director was inefficient, a publicity hound, and would soon be replaced by Colonel Melvin Purvis," Sherwood said that this certainly did not reflect his view and that under no circumstances would he tolerate such statements by OWI employees. (61-7566-4604; 62-101380-3,5)

George Nauman Shuster, President of Hunter College, was subject of applicant-type investigation conducted in 1949-50 under ERP. Friends and associates regard him as a loyal and patriotic American, hostile to Fascism, Communism, and all un-American political philosophies. Results of this investigation were furnished to CSC and to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, II, in June, 1954, when Shuster was applicant with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, (UNESCO), Paris, France. On August 20, 1954, the CSC advised that the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board had indicated that a favorable advisory loyalty determination was forwarded to the head of UNESCO. Shuster was accused of being affiliated with groups and individuals having pro-Nazi and pro-Communist leanings. He was sponsor and member of the National Advisory Board of the American

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Youth Congress (cited by the Attorney General) 1937-41; and affiliated with the following Communist infiltrated and Communist organizations: American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, 1949; International Students Service, 1942; and the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields, 1943. Public expressions of Shuster in 1943, 1947, and 1953, indicated his opposition to Communism. He favored outlawing the CP as an aid to the maintenance of academic freedom and opposed investigation of educational institutions by Congress. He has been contacted regularly in applicant cases and has been found to be trustworthy and discreet. [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] X

Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson, also known as Mrs. William Edwards Stevenson, wife of the President of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, has not been investigated by the Bureau. Our files contain no derogatory information concerning her. (100-391697-16x3)

James David Zellerbach, President and Director of the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco, California, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation in 1948 under the European Recovery Program and a special inquiry-applicant investigation conducted for the State Department in 1953. Investigations reflected that Zellerbach contributed, through his company, \$100 per month from July, 1944, to August, 1945, to the California Labor School (cited by the Attorney General), was a contributor and on the Board of Directors of the Institute of Pacific Relations (1947-53); was present at reception for V. M. Molotov in 1945; and was a member of the Citizens' Committee to Protect Rincon Annex Murals (murals painted by artist described as pro-Communist and were reportedly undemocratic). On 7/12/39 the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, Zellerbach and two of his brothers were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury at San Francisco, for violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. On 5/2/41 the Corporation was fined \$5,000 on each of two counts in the indictment and on the same date the indictment concerning Zellerbach and his brothers was dismissed. Zellerbach's wife and brother donated small amount to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (cited by the Attorney General) in the 1940's. His niece, with whom he reportedly had no social contact, was a member of the CP in 1944. Persons interviewed during the investigations characterized Zellerbach as extremely capable, loyal and of good moral character. [REDACTED]

(S) [REDACTED] (Summary 3/26/53; 100-391697-16x7) b1

~~[CS-16x5]~~

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RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum for the Attorney General, with a copy for the Deputy Attorney General Rogers, be approved and forwarded.

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[Mrs. Edith Grosscup, wife of a Seattle attorney, advised the Seattle Office of this Bureau in September, 1948, that she had written to Dean Erwin N. Griswold, Harvard Law School, concerning the loyalty investigation involving Jesse Epstein, former Regional Director, Public Housing Authority, Seattle, Washington.]

The Bureau conducted a Hatch Act investigation of Epstein from November, 1941, to October, 1942, based on information from reliable informants that he attended Communist Party meetings prior to 1940. This investigation was reopened and closed by Seattle report in March, 1948. A loyalty-type investigation was opened and closed in April, 1948. The Loyalty Review Board declared Epstein eligible on loyalty on June 7, 1949. However, he resigned his Federal employment in September, 1948, for a fellowship at Harvard University.

Mrs. Grosscup advised that she had written Dean Griswold concerning a meeting of the American Bar Association in Seattle during September, 1948, and conversations which took place at that time relating to the loyalty investigation involving Jesse Epstein. Mrs. Grosscup stated that Griswold in reply to her letter was very critical of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and in response to an inquiry by Mrs. Grosscup as to whether he, Griswold, knew that Epstein had been identified by four witnesses as having been present at Communist Party meetings, Griswold reportedly answered that it made no difference to him whether Epstein was a Communist. According to Mrs. Grosscup, Griswold also stated in his letter that he was sympathetic with Alger Hiss, also a Harvard man, who had recently been indicted.

Dean Erwin Griswold attended one of the sessions of the first Alger Hiss perjury trial in 1949. During an intermission he conferred with a group of people in the corridor of the Court House, which included Mr. and Mrs. Alger Hiss, one or more of Hiss' attorneys, and several other unidentified individuals.

The Washington "Times-Herald," issue dated March 7, 1950, carried an article under the by-line of Eugene Griffin, captioned "Twenty Harvard Professors Tied to Reds." Concerning the Harvard Law School, Griffin pointed out that half of the then present teaching staff were graduated from Harvard Law

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-391697)

DATE: April 12, 1955

FROM : SAC, Pittsburgh (100-0-239256)

SUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Rebulet to New York, 12/17/52, which advised that although the Bureau desired no investigation of the Ford Foundation or other benevolent trust funds, the Field should be alert for any derogatory information of a subversive nature concerning individuals or organizations who are recipients of grants therefrom.

On 3/14/55 this office received a news release captioned "Washington Office," American Council of Christian Churches, 1919 Beech Street, Pittsburgh 21, Pa., Reverend W. O. H. GARMAN, D.D., March 10, 1955, which sets out that "Ford Foundation Sets Up Anti Anti-Communist Group."

Although the above news release was not identified, it is believed that it was forwarded to this office by Reverend GARMAN who from time to time furnishes items concerning matters which he regards as being subversive.

One photostatic copy of the above news release is enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau and Washington Field. No further action is contemplated by this office.

Enclosure 1
REGISTERED MAIL
JTM/jep
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 2085 JAL

cc: 1 - Washington Field (Enc. 1) (RM)

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INDEXED - 63
EX-103

100-11611-83

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3 APR 29 1955

EXP-PROC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY [signature]

"Washington Office"
American Council of Christian Churches
1919 Beech Street, Pittsburgh 21, Pa.
Rev. W.O.H. Garrison, D.D. March 10, 1955

Ford Foundation Sets Up Anti-Communist Group, which is taking the place as a base of operations for the smear gestapo formerly associated with Leon K. Birkhead's discredited front known as the "Friends of Democracy". The group the Ford Foundation has set up is called, "Fund for the Republic", and it is being used as a front by Ralph Lord Roy, who was door-keeper in Birkhead's "Friends of Democracy."

Birkhead was a discredited renegade, an apostate from the Methodist Church who threw in his lot with Haldeman-Julius, the publisher of "atheistic" and "anti-Catholic literature". Birkhead was known as an "agnostic", an "atheist", a defamer of Christian ministers, and as one who advocated the destruction of theological seminaries.

Birkhead's "Friends of Democracy" backed such notorious columniators and character assassins as "John Roy Carlson", a man of many aliases, but whose correct name was Ayodis Boghos Derounian, an Armenian, and more recently Ralph Lord Roy, who acts and looks enough like "Carlson" to be his brother. As far as principle is concerned, they were both fed out of the same bottle.

Judge John P. Barnes of the United States Court in Chicago, in rendering a decision against "Carlson", is reported to have declared that "Carlson" "would write anything for a dollar, and was not worthy of belief under oath." As editor of the "Spectator" and later in "Soviet Russia Today" Carlson "engaged in a continuous course of extolling the great work" of the communists. John T. Flynn tells us that "He was hired by the Anti Defamation League", but later on when it suited his purpose, "He issued an anti-Semitic sheet of his own composition containing some of the vilest attacks on the Jews-". With Birkhead's help and assistance, he wrote "Under Cover" and "The Plotters", both disreputable untruthful smear attacks on American patriots and preachers who were combatting the communist menace.

Carlson's successor, Ralph Lord Roy, of Union Theological Seminary and the Methodist Church, is a loyal supporter of Birkhead. According to Birkhead's own statement, Roy's defamation of American patriots and preachers who were anti-Communists, and which defamation is known as "Apostles of Discord" was one of a number of books "either written in the Friends of Democracy Research Department or by members of the F.O.D. staff." Like Carlson's "Under Cover", Roy's "Apostles of Discord" contains no end of false statements and half truths, many of which have been called to his attention by those he has smeared, but to no avail. In spite of his repeated promises to make corrections, he hasn't to our knowledge done so.

"Apostles of Discord" has been highly touted by "Christian Century", Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and other communist-front members among the clergy.

In a letter dated March 2, 1955, Roy declared to an enquirer that the "Fund for the Republic", which is underwriting his present activities, "was established by the Ford Foundation" and that "Dr. Robert J. Hutchins is president of the Fund".

Little did evangelical Protestant preachers and American patriots suspect that when in the past they bought Fords they were making contributions toward the Ford Foundation which in turn would subsidize those working for their destruction. Why not bring this to the attention of your Ford dealer? We are bringing it to the attention of the Ford Motor Company. A stop must be put to practices such as this. It is deplorable the way many big foundations set up by Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford have been permitted to get into the hands of those who are the enemies of the Christian faith and the American way of life and government.

Mr. Tolson

DATE: April 20, 1955

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT :

PALMER HOYT
DENVER POST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/24/89 BY 8883/STP/gp

Tolson
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Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
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Rosen
Tamm
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

I had dinner with Palmer Hoyt on Tuesday night, April 19th. I pointed out that there was a matter that was causing us increasing concern which I wanted to discuss with him in a very frank and off-the-record manner because of the implications and the harm that has been done. Hoyt stated that we, of course, should know we can discuss anything with him.

I then pointed out that with reference to the crusade which the Denver Post has been making on "Faceless Informers" we have been very reluctant in saying anything despite the inaccuracies that appeared therein as long as this remained a local story, but now the story was being reprinted and being widely circulated by the Ford Foundation and was being utilized by sources which I was certain did not meet with Hoyt's approval. Hoyt told me that the Ford Foundation had purchased 30,000 reprints. I told Hoyt that it was our understanding they were sending the reprints to the local school boards and the like. I then pointed out that by way of background there were certain fundamentals that he should know.

I then reviewed the general climate in 1948, 1949 and 1950, the risk of state investigating committees, the pressures raised by the Governors and the potential demands being made on the White House and the Administration to extend the Loyalty program to state, county and municipal governments. I pointed out that abuse and cry was raised at the Governors' Conference in the Winter of 1950 with the consequent result that a special committee consisting of Governors Lausche, Stevenson, Adams, Carvel and Browning were appointed to come to Washington to work out the details of getting access to FBI files. I further pointed out to Hoyt that we had reason to believe that the White House would have bowed to the pressure which would have put the Bureau in an untenable position and, accordingly, the Director at the insistence of the Governors had met with them; that they had explained their situation and we had explained ours. The Governors were reasonable and respected the confidential nature of our files but insisted that they had a responsibility and they raised the question as to whether

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Jones

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Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: PALMER HOYT
DENVER POST

or not under certain circumstances the Governors could be advised on a very informal and highly confidential basis of individuals working in state governmental setups to the end that the Governors would be put on an alert, could make their own investigation and take such action as was indicated on their own. I told Hoyt that this seemed a very reasonable solution and a means of protecting the confidential character of our files from a broad sweeping order which Congress would have thoroughly supported since Congress was raising a hue and cry at the time on breaking the confidential character of our files. I further told him that the Director had stated that the Bureau would be glad to do this provided it met with the approval of the Attorney General. The matter was taken up with the Attorney General who very promptly ruled that we should undertake such a procedure.

I pointed out that the Governors made a specific point of including teachers in state universities and colleges and also wanted to include teachers who were Communists; however, we were very strict in our interpretation and in implementing the program, only a limited number of teachers were ever called to the attention of Governors. I told him it was a fact that we had called names of seven teachers in Colorado to the attention of Governor Thornton with the understanding that the state authorities would conduct such investigation as was necessary and that we had supplied only the barest of facts which would give the state authorities an opportunity to undertake an investigation. I told Hoyt that while to our knowledge the Governor had not breached confidence, nevertheless, the Denver Post had assumed from the very beginning that this information came from the FBI and that there was no point in our entering into any discussion and furthermore, we regarded the agreement entered into in February, 1951, as a very solemn one wherein we were bound by a confidence; that it was true that certain Governors had violated our confidence, but this did not justify us in breaking our word.

Hoyt stated he thoroughly concurred and thoroughly understood. He further stated that he saw nothing wrong whatsoever with this procedure, but on the other hand he thought it was a highly proper one. I told Hoyt that while I did not want to argue with him, certainly if we were to judge by the editorials and stories in the Denver Post, it was rather difficult to reconcile the stories with Hoyt personally; that it seemed that the stories and the editorials were crusading on the point of who tipped the authorities off to Communists in the

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: PALMER HOYT
DENVER POST

school system and not on whether the individuals were in fact Communists and not on the fundamental violation of due process in civil rights which was demonstrated by the action of the state authorities in the summary action which they took against the teachers and that it was rather difficult to understand why a paper of the standing of the Post would miss the point so far that they would pitch their stories on the false premise of denouncing the calling of the attention to appropriate authorities of an evil that could be corrected. Hoyt saw the point very quickly. He stated that there was certainly nothing wrong with what the Bureau did; that he could see now where "the FBI got a bum rap." He further stated that he did not believe in the very beginning that the FBI was the source of the information because he had such a low opinion of Governor Thornton that he did not think the Bureau would repose any confidence in him.

I told Hoyt that he was overlooking a solemn agreement that was entered into with a committee of Governors on behalf of all Governors and that in the absence of some specifics indicating a breach of confidence that we had no other alternative. Hoyt stated he could understand this. I further told Hoyt that he would agree, I was sure, that even to this date that Governor Thornton had not breached his word and had not divulged the source. He stated this was true; that the matter was miserably handled in the state.

I told him we would agree with him on this and this being so, the question arose, why did not the Denver Post direct its energies to correcting an evil rather than to smear an organization such as the Bureau has been smeared. I further pointed out to Hoyt that where we had any reason to believe that the state authorities knew of the identity of the suspected Communists or actual Communists we, of course, felt no obligation in calling this to their attention. I mentioned one specific case wherein a mother some years ago had written a letter pointing out that one professor had been the subject of complaint; that nothing was ever done and that one President admitted that the Professor was a "crackpot but he only has 20 or 30 followers;" that this occurred some 15 years prior to the time the mother had written the letter and that if the President was correct that he only had 20 or 30 followers, if there were 20 converts a year this would mean there would be 300 Communists. I further told Hoyt that this mother had reason to complain because two of her sons became enmeshed in the toils of Communism and that one had actually been convicted for false statements. Hoyt tried to get the name of the professor from me. I, of course, would not give it to him. (I was referring to the case of Joseph Wilfred [redacted] who stated this [redacted] to surprise him and it further illustrated [redacted] handled these problems.

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: PALMER HOYT
DENVER POST

I then proceeded to take Hoyt to task on some of the editorial lines that had appeared such as showing a tendency of becoming a faceless police, undertaking to police the school systems in the hiring of teachers, references to the FBI being a thought police, becoming a self-appointed guardian of our school systems and to the teachers operating under the all-seeing eye of the FBI. Hoyt then stated he could very well see the problem and the concern.

I then pointed out to him that a terrific drive was being made against the informant system which is as old as man, which was the very cornerstone of a free press and I asked him if he was prepared if the informant system was eradicated from the investigative process to eradicate it from the news-gathering process. He stated that he was not prepared for either; that investigations were necessary, informants were necessary and that this frankly had caused him to think and re-evaluate the entire matter. It was quite obvious to me that Hoyt was not too closely acquainted with some of the details.

Hoyt then stated that he would get busy and would try to think of some way to correct this situation and to head off any further danger. I told Hoyt that quite frankly, for his strictly confidential information, we had discontinued the practice and in fact had breached the agreement that we had entered into with the Governors; that sooner or later we fully expected some Governor to be caught in left field with the exposure of a Communist cell in a state university or state organization and that then the blame would be placed upon the Bureau; that I was mentioning this because when this occurred I would expect him to be the first to come to our defense; that we, of course, did not know what position we would take; that this was a bridge we would meet when we came to it; that it was a fact that one of the motivating considerations which caused us to breach our solemn agreement with the Governors Conference was the action of the Denver Post, which has a respectability and which is now being used by the extreme left wing to undermine security. Hoyt observed that it was beginning to look like he was in a box. I told him that I frankly would not want to have the responsibility which he and the Denver Post has in this matter; that we, of course, had taken it on the chin and would continue to take it on the chin, but if a showdown ever came we believed in laying the cards on the table. Hoyt then stated that he thought that maybe we were a little bit unduly concerned; that he did not think this would cause any harm on a long-range basis; that it would soon be forgotten and I asked him how it could

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: PALMER HOYT
DENVER POST

be forgotten when the series was being perpetuated by the Ford Foundation, being mailed broadside around the country and being quoted daily in the Communist press and so forth.

Hoyt asked why in the world I had not called him when this series got under way as I should know that I could talk to him about anything in confidence. I told Hoyt that quite frankly we had considered this, but that we had concluded that we would not take any action which would in any way infringe upon the freedom of the press because we have ~~the~~ responsibility and so did the press and that responsibility as he very well knows has a strange way of eventually finding a final resting place and that so long as this was a local matter we did not think it proper, although I knew that had we called him and laid the cards on the table, he would have stopped the series then and there. He stated he certainly would have and stated if something like this came up in the future he hopes we will get ahold of him before any harm is done. He then commented that he had always had great admiration for the Bureau and stated that he did get a little bit irked a couple years ago when the Director commented favorably about Senator McCarthy. I told Hoyt that I, of course, recalled very well the rather nasty editorial he had written; that it frankly had hurt me since I had thought before he would condemn a man he would get the other side of the picture. I further told Hoyt that had he been in the Director's position he would have done the same thing and he stated that he should ^{not} have judged a man without taking into consideration more facts.

He stated he would be in touch with me in due time and he would try to dig around and figure out a way to help out in the situation.

Hoyt is leaving on Thursday morning to go to Boca Raton for an advertising meeting and is then going to New York for the publishers' meeting next week. I called him this morning and told him that the thought had occurred to me that he might have some difficulty in getting from Miami to Boca Raton and I was wondering if we could be of any assistance as we would be glad to have one of our Agents meet him in Miami and take him to Boca Raton. He stated this was certainly very decent; that he thought somebody would meet the plane; that he might have trouble getting back and if he needed any help he would call and he certainly appreciated this.

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

RE: PALMER HOYT
DENVER POST

Hoyt then told me that he had already called the paper and told the paper that nothing further was to be used on the so-called "Faceless Informers". He further stated that he has not thought of a program as yet, but he will try to come up with something. Hoyt is an extreme extrovert. He has been exceedingly successful and I frankly do not think he is too deep. I do think he was impressed. He impressed me as taking the matter rather seriously. Time, of course, will tell. I think that the time spent with him last night was very much worthwhile. He asked that his very best regards be extended to the Director and that he be called upon if at any time he could be of assistance.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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1 - Mr. Belmont

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Apr 13 20, 1953

1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Daunt

DIRECTOR, FBI

RECORDED-48

100-391697-85
**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC;
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY**

X-112

We have been advised that Paul Dean, Dean of the Law School, and Frank Dugan, Dean of the Graduate Law School, Georgetown University, have been contacted by the Fund for the Republic and requested to conduct a research study looking into the reliability of certain Government witnesses used in security-type cases such as Elizabeth F. Hawley, Louis F. Budenz and Whitaker Chambers. This study is reportedly to be based upon the public record only looking toward any inconsistencies in the testimony of the above witnesses and the weight of credibility that can be placed in them.

The University has been offered \$75,000 to \$100,000 to conduct this study over a period of one year. We have been informed that the University is presently considering the advisability of undertaking such a study. The offer made by the Fund for the Republic is to be presented to the Faculty Committee of the University for a decision on April 20, 1954.

The above is for your information. You will be kept advised of any further developments in this matter.

1 - Mr. William F. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

to , Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 26, 1955

FROM : R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC;
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-29-89 BY SP8/S

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Charles Noone, Director of Security, U. S. Information Agency, advised Liaison Agent J. J. Daunt on April 25, 1955, that he had been contacted by Paul Dean, Dean of Law School, and Frank Dugan, Dean of the Graduate Law School, Georgetown University that date. Dean and Dugan advised Noone that the Fund for the Republic had requested them to conduct a research study looking into the reliability of certain government witnesses used in security-type cases, such as Bentley, Budenz and Chambers. This study is to be based upon the public record looking toward any inconsistencies in the testimony of the above witnesses and the weight of credibility that can be placed in them.

Noone was advised that the University had been offered 75 to 100 thousand dollars to conduct this study over a period of one year. Dean and Dugan advised Noone that they intended to discuss the advisability of conducting such a study with the University heads ~~that date~~. Noone stated he pointed out to Dean and Dugan the controversial nature of such a project, especially in view of restricting the study to public information. He pointed out that the informants themselves should at least be given the benefit of an interview, which was agreed to by Dean and Dugan. The latter were particularly anxious to locate a staff director for such a study and queried Noone for someone he could recommend. Dean and Dugan felt they should have a staff director who has not been engaged in security-type work, but who has an open mind and sound judgment.

According to Noone, he is very friendly with Dean and Dugan and is in position to make recommendations to these people in the event such a study is undertaken by them.

RECORDED-48

100-391697- 85

ACTION:

EX-112

24 MAY 3 1955

For your information. Liaison will follow discreetly with Noon.

JJD:jlfr
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- 1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Daunt

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1 - Mr. Boardman

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

May 2, 1955

DIRECTOR, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Daunt

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC/
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY**

By memorandum dated April 29, 1955, you were advised that Georgetown University Law School had been contacted by the Fund for the Republic and requested to conduct a research study looking into the reliability of certain Government witnesses used in security-type cases such as Elizabeth F. Bentley, Louis F. Budenz and Whittaker Chambers. This study was reportedly to be based upon the public record only looking toward any inconsistencies in the testimony of the above witnesses and the weight of credibility that could be placed in them. The University was offered \$75,000 to \$100,000 to conduct this study over a period of one year.

We have been informed that the President of Georgetown University has refused the offer made by the Fund for the Republic pointing out that the subject matter is "too controversial, too emotional and too political."

The above is furnished to you for your information.

2 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 2058 D131 ag

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

MAILED 2
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COMM - FBI

Cover memo Roach to Belmont, Rome, ne
5-3-55 JJD:fjb

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59 MAY 13 1955

EX-115
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CHANGED TO
100-418797-35

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 208057J/ag

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

DATE: April 29, 1955

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Mohr

Parsons

Rosen

Tamm

Sizoo

Winterrowd

Tele. Room

Holloman

Gandy

SUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION

DECLASSIFIED BY 208851JK

ON 7-24-79

George Sokolsky informed me that Ernie Breach, the Executive Vice President of the Ford Motor Company, and Charles Moore of the Ford Motor Company, called upon him on April 29th and discussed with him the Ford Foundation from 11 a.m. to 12:45 p.m. They are beside themselves over the Fund of the Republic and were soliciting George's advice on how to get out of a bad situation.

By way of background, they related to George that Henry Ford Jr. forced Robert M. Hutchins out of the Ford Foundation. In other words, he was fired. Hutchins demanded severance pay which was given to him. Within a week after the 15 million dollar grant had been made to the Fund of the Republic by the Ford Foundation, Henry Ford went to Paul Hoffman and protested the actions of Robert Hutchins and the hiring of Hutchins by the Fund of the Republic. Hoffman informed Henry Ford that the Fund of the Republic was independent as an organization and had no connection with the Ford Foundation. In other words, Hoffman politely told Henry Ford to go jump in the lake.

Breach states that he warned everyone of what would happen when they hired Hoffman and when they set up the Fund of the Republic. Sokolsky, of course, has campaigned against the Fund of the Republic and this probably is the reason they came to him.

Breach told George that Henry Ford the 2nd is so disturbed over the Fund of the Republic that "he cannot sleep nights," that he knows he is in a trap and wants to figure a way out.

Breach and his group had actually prepared a copy of full page advertisements to be placed in daily newspapers disassociating the Ford Foundation from the Fund of the Republic and denouncing it.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
LBN:MM

(4)

RECORDED - 44

INDEXED - 44

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100-391697

69 MAY 10 1955

Henry Ford vetoed this on the ground that it was too sharp a denunciation of Hoffman and would not be in good taste, but he still does not know what to do.

George told Breach that he was going to continue to attack the Fund ~~of~~ the Republic; that he, George, was going to continue to say that if he wanted to buy a new station wagon he would not buy a Ford for this reason and while Breach was cagey, according to George, the thing he fears is a boycott and with the car market becoming what it is competition-wise, Breach frankly admitted the possibility did exist; that the Ford Motor Company could suffer considerable damage.

Reprint of Denver Post series
Sokolsky referred to some of the things the Fund of the Republic has done and also mentioned they are presently circulating an attack on the FBI. This caused Breach considerable anguish and worry. George further stated that he thought the possibility existed that the FBI might be forced to defend itself and that he could very well appreciate Breach's concern if the Director were forced to issue a public statement on the nature of the material being disseminated by the Fund of the Republic.

George stated this disturbed Breach no end and at this point Breach stated he had been told that all employees of the Ford Foundation had been checked and cleared by the FBI and CIA. Sokolsky stated he seriously doubted this; that the FBI did not give clearances and Breach asked Sokolsky if he would not make a check of the Bureau as a newspaperman. Therefore, Sokolsky officially and formally posed two questions: One, has the FBI cleared the employees of the Ford Foundation. I answered this by stating "categorically no." Secondly, Sokolsky inquired whether the FBI had checked the employees of the Ford Foundation. I answered this by stating that the FBI had not checked the employees for the Ford Foundation, that this would be beyond its jurisdiction.

Breach then asked George what he thought they should do and George told Breach he thought they should make a public statement denouncing the Fund of the Republic, expressing regret they had made the grant of 15 million dollars for the purposes for which it is being used and categorically and officially divest the Ford Motor Company, the Ford

Foundation of any responsibility for the Fund ^{for} of the Republic and formally notify the Fund of the Republic to cease and desist using the name Ford Foundation. Sokolsky further told Breach the quicker they did this, the better. Breach agreed. Sokolsky further told Breach he had tried to see Gaither several times when they were setting up the Fund of the Republic but Gaither ducked him because he no doubt knew what Sokolsky wanted to discuss with him.

I told George if we had any further inquiries along the lines he had raised, we would answer them as I had answered them to him. George stated he was calling promptly because he suspected they might try to get in touch with the Bureau.

*
Is H. Rowan Gaither, Jr.
President of the Ford Foundation

*I doubt if they
have the "guts" to
do this.*

H.

- Original and copy
- Yellow file copy
- Section tickler
- 1 -

b6
b7c

SAC, Boston (100-29183)

May 5, 1955

Director, FBI (100-391697)

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

Reurlet dated March 9, 1955, which advised that referenced books were expected to be published around the middle of April, 1955.

Advise Bureau as to status of this matter.

LLW:mjh
(5)

wgs

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DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 BTJ/SP8

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100-391697-89

MAY 6 1955

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: May 3, 1955

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC:
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITYALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-98 BY 283513P8

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Reference is made to my memorandum of April 26, 1955, wherein you were advised that Georgetown University Law School had been contacted by the Fund for the Republic to undertake a research study looking into the reliability of certain Government witnesses used in security-type cases. Georgetown was offered \$75,000 to \$100,000 to conduct this study over a period of one year.

Charles Noone, Director of Security, U.S. Information Agency, advised Liaison on May 2, 1955, that he had been informed on the same date by Paul Dean, Dean of Georgetown Law School, that Father Bunn, President, Georgetown, had emphatically refused the offer by the Fund for the Republic stating that the matter was "too controversial, too emotional, and too political."

The contents of the referenced memorandum of April 26, 1955, were furnished to the Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General Rogers and Assistant Attorney General Tompkins by memorandum dated April 29, 1955.

ACTION:

If you approve, there is enclosed a memorandum concerning this latest development for the Attorney General, with a copy for Deputy Attorney General Rogers and a copy for Assistant Attorney General Tompkins.

Enclosure

JD:fjb/
(5)

RECORDED-74

- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Daunt

21 MAY 6 1955

8 MAY 13 1955

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-1-8599

DIRECTOR, FBI

5-4-55

SAC, CINCINNATI (105-685)

THE PROTECT AMERICA LEAGUE
OF GREATER CINCINNATI
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 BTJ/af

Re: 2-18-55.

On 5-2-55, Mr. NEIL WETTERMAN, official of the Protect America League, telephonically contacted the Cincinnati Office and advised as follows:

Beginning Thursday, 5-5-55, WETTERMAN intends to publish a series of articles in the "Sycamore Messenger," a weekly newspaper distributed in Montgomery, Ohio (suburb of Cincinnati). This newspaper is operated by M. S. KJELLENBERG. The articles will appear every two weeks under the pen name of GEORGE J. WILLIAMS. Cincinnati indices negative re KJELLENBERG.

WETTERMAN stated that the source of his information will be the publications issued by the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and the HCUA. He has received specific permission from these committees to use their publications, along with permission to quote verbatim from any portion of the publications.

WETTERMAN stated that he wished to advise this office of an organization known as the "Fund For The Republic" which was set up by the Ford Foundation. ROBERT M. HUTCHENS is President of the "Fund For The Republic." This group has sent two books with the compliments of the "Fund For The Republic" to U. S. District Court Judge. These books are as follows:

- (1) Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, by SAMUEL A. STAUFFER.
Stauffer
- (2) Grand Inquest, The Story of Congressional Investigations, by TELFORD TAYLOR.

WETTERMAN stated that the second book, by TAYLOR, takes apart and discredits the Congressional Investigating Committees who have concentrated on inquiry in the subversive field, particularly deriding the chairmen of these committees. TAYLOR, according to WETTERMAN, was in charge of prosecution in the War Criminal Trials in Germany after World War II. Since that

WLP:CVM

(3)

REGISTERED MAIL

INDEXED - 121

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194 MAY 6 1955

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time he has made a particular effort to defend Communists in trials throughout the United States, and he stated that TAYLOR is now defending ROBERT M. METCALF on charges of contempt of the HCUA. METCALF has been the subject of a security investigation in the Cincinnati Division, and is a professor at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

WETTERMAN stated that it was the opinion of the Federal District Judge who turned these books over to him that if they were read by the judges who heard cases involving Communists, they could very easily sway the opinions of these judges to be lenient on the Communists. While WETTERMAN did not identify the Federal Judge who turned these books over to him, it is believed that Judge JOHN H. DRUFFEL is WETTERMAN's source in this connection.

WETTERMAN further related that he has negotiated, with the cooperation of the American Legion Americanization Committee, Mr. MARTIN DIES and Mr. GORDON H. SCHERER of the HCUA, to have reprints made for publication of a book known as Appendage Nine. This book, Appendage Nine, was put out by the Dies Committee several years ago, and only one thousand copies were released, it being subsequently "squashed" because of the controversial nature of the information contained therein. WETTERMAN has received approval of SCHERER and DIES to issue reprints of this publication at cost price, and it is comprised of seven volumes to the set. The cost price will be \$11.00. DIES has stated to WETTERMAN that recently the original sets have bootlegged for \$1500.00 a set.

WETTERMAN spoke with DIES on the telephone on the evening of 5-1-55, at which time DIES stated that he would give a letter of recommendation and support to the publication of Appendage Nine. Further, SCHERER and DIES both will make a statement for publicity purposes of the availability of these volumes on a subscription basis, which will be publicized in such magazines as "Facts Forum," "Counter Attack," etc. WETTERMAN states that when he receives one thousand advance subscriptions he will then go to press on Appendage Nine.

Mr. WETTERMAN appears to be most cooperative with the Cincinnati Office, and information has been accepted from him only. He was specifically advised that under no circumstances could he obtain any comments concerning his activity from this office, and he states that he fully understands the confidential nature of the FBI's files.

file copy
Whalen
1 Tickler

RECORDED-57 SAC, New York

May 11, 1955

100-391697-92
Director, FBI (100-391697)

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.,
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

Re Boston airtel, copy to New York, dated 5/5/55, re captioned matter. New York should obtain referenced books as soon as possible and forward them to Bureau, attention Central Research Section.

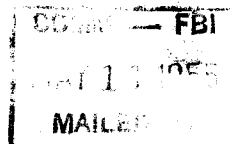
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

Airtel

Transmit the following ~~Teletype~~ message ~~XXX~~ From:

SAC, BOSTON

MAY 5, 1955

9:30 AM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC., INFO CONCERNING.

ReBulet January 25, 1955.

Assistant Librarian, Widener Library, Harvard University, advised May 4, 1955 that "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States" due to change in publishing are now available only through the Fund for the Republic, 1 East 54th Street, New York City, c/o Mr. EDWARD REED. Harvard Library copies have not been received.

It is suggested that New York obtain above books for Bureau.

EJD:if

BS 100-29183

cc: New York

POWERS
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 1-24-89 BY 208 STJ/08

Mr. Belmont

RECORDED-57

EX-126

9 MAY 6 1955

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

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Per _____

4-11 (2-10-55)

FEDERAL BUREAU

INVESTIGATION

, 1955

TO:

☒ Director ☒ Mr. Sizoo, 5744
☒ Mr. Tolson, 5744 ☐ Miss Gandy, 5633
☐ Mr. Boardman, 5736 ☐ Mr. Holloman, 5633
☐ Mr. Belmont, 1742
☐ Mr. Harbo, 5256 ☐ Records Section
☐ Mr. Mohr, ☐ Mr. Boardman ☐ Mr. Records, 6631
☐ Mr. Parson ☐ Mr. Nichols ☐ Reading Room, 5531
☐ Mr. Rosen ☐ Mr. Belmont ☐ Mail Room, 5533
☐ Mr. Tamm, ☐ Mr. Harbo ☐ Teletype, 5644
☐ Mr. Keay, ☐ Mr. Mohr ☐ Code Room, 4642
☐ ☐ Mr. Parsons ☐ Mechanical, B-114
☐ ☐ Mr. Rosen ☐ Supply Room, B-118
☐ Mr. Nicho ☐ Mr. Tamm ☐ Tour Room, 5625
☐ Mr. McGu ☐ Mr. Sizoo
☐ Mr. Wick, ☐ Mr. Winterrowd
☐ Mr. DeLoa ☐ Tele. Room
☐ Mr. Morgan, ☐ Miss Lurz
☐ ☐ Mrs. Marsh
☐ ☐ Miss McNally
☐ Mr. Jones, 4230 ☐ Miss Mathers
☐ Mr. Leonard 6222 IB ☐ Miss Carter
☐ Mr. Waikart, 7204 ☐ Miss Cosart
☐ Mr. Eames, 7206
☐ Mr. Wherry, 5537

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DATE 1-24-89 BY 2538 J/ab
action

The Book Survey
is a most compelling
Argument for
the Book.

L. B. Nichols
Room 5640, Ext. 691

THIS WEEK MAGAZINE

420 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

WILLIAM I. NICHOLS
EDITOR

March 8, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY 82151/afp

Dear Lou:

Just a very short line to tell you how much I appreciated your phone call yesterday, both to me and Ed Aswell. Now, I understand that he is planning to see you in Washington. It makes me very happy that you and he are in touch. For, as you know, one of my principal concerns has been the fear that we were leaving him dangling in a rather unceremonious manner.

Just as an aside to the various things we have talked about recently, I am attaching a copy of the article "What Are We Worried About?" from the current issue of Look. It is a really very interesting, and in some respects startling, survey of public opinion and public interest. I think you will find the discussion of Communism on pages 26 and 27 particularly interesting. And, for the long run, I believe that it underlines the need for the kind of book we have been considering.

However, that's for the long pull. For the short pull, I am standing by eagerly for word from you about the little piece on Crime and Time. I am glad that you like it, and hope your Boss will, too.

With all my best.

Sincerely yours,

William I. Nichols

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

RECORDED - 83
INDEXED - 83

60 MAY 25 1955

CRIME

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: April 20, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 STJ/108

SUBJECT:

"WHAT ARE WE WORRIED ABOUT?" AND "HOW THE
PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT COMMUNISM AND CIVIL LIBERTIES,"
ARTICLES RESPECTIVELY PUBLISHED IN THE MARCH 22
AND APRIL 5, 1955, ISSUES OF LOOK MAGAZINE

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SYNOPSIS: Look magazine, in its issues of 3/22 and 4/5/55, published articles, written by Samuel A. Stouffer, Professor of Sociology, Harvard University, giving summary of survey of public opinion conducted under a \$125,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. The first article, entitled "What Are We Worried About," (3/22/55 issue of Look) reflected, for example, that Americans appeared to be worried chiefly in terms of personal or family problems. Less than 1 per cent of the American public volunteered any concern about the internal Communist threat. Moreover, the concern over civil liberties seemed to be even lower. "The American public is clearly not quivering with fear or anxiety and does not show visible symptoms of 'the jitters.'" When specifically asked as to how great a danger they thought the American Communists were at the present time, 19 per cent replied "a very great danger"; 24 per cent "a great danger"; 38 per cent "some danger"; 9 per cent "hardly any danger"; 2 per cent "no danger"; and 8 per cent "no opinion." When asked why they thought the American Communists were dangerous, the answers fell into three groups: "8 per cent mentioned Communist espionage"; "8 per cent mentioned Communist sabotage"; "28 per cent mentioned 'Communist ideas' which would convert others." When asked what they thought a Communist actually is only 3 per cent said they had ever known a person who admitted he was a Communist; another 10 per cent said they had known somebody they thought might be a Communist. When asked why they so thought, many nonspecific answers were given. For example, "I saw a map of Russia on a wall in his home"; "I just know. But I wouldn't know how to say how I know." Stouffer commented that the survey pointed out that American freedoms seemed to be "taken for granted" and that the internal Communist threat is not felt as a personal threat. Second article, entitled "How the People Feel About Communism and Civil Liberties," reflects that "local community leaders rally much more firmly to the principles of civil liberties than does the public-at-large." Also says that "younger people are more tolerant than older people" and "the better the education, the higher the degree of tolerance." (Tolerance is defined as the willingness to protect the rights of people who hold "offbeat" ideas). Says that "people have fed upon vague and distorted information about Communists." A full report of the survey will be explained in a book by Stouffer entitled "Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties."

RECORDED - 83

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

100-391697

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED 83

Enclosures (2) ENCL.

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EX-126

CRIME RECORDS

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MAY 25 1955

April 20, 1955

DETAILS

BACKGROUND: You will recall that Bill Nichols of This Week magazine recently sent you a copy of an article entitled "What Are We Worried About?" which appeared in the March 22, 1955, issue of Look magazine. You desired a brief analysis of this article.

INFORMATION CONCERNING ARTICLE: This article is based on a public opinion survey conducted under a \$125,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. The study was planned, according to the article, by Frank Stanton, President, Columbia Broadcasting System; Logan Wilson, President, University of Texas; Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune; Porter Chandler, Attorney; Professor Paul Lazarsfeld, Columbia University; and Professor Alexander Leighton, Cornell University. The author of the Look magazine article, Samuel A. Stouffer, Professor of Sociology, Harvard University, served as chairman of this group.

An editorial note pointed out that this poll of public opinion was unique in that identical questions were asked by two leading organizations (the American Institute of Public Opinion, the "Gallup Poll," and the National Opinion Research Center) "who worked independently of each other." Each organization conducted detailed interviews, lasting well over an hour each, with its own carefully selected sample of approximately 2,500 Americans. At the same time, 1,500 community leaders were interviewed to see how their opinions might differ from those of the American public-at-large.

The article in the March 22, 1955, issue of Look is the first of two based on information from the survey which will later be given in detail in a book by Professor Stouffer entitled "Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties."

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY: "What Are We Worried About?" (March 22, 1955, issue of Look) This article reflected, based on the public polls, that the American public "is clearly not quivering with fear or anxiety and does not show visible symptoms of 'the jitters.'" For example, the question "What kinds of things do you worry about most?" was asked. The overwhelming majority answered solely in terms of personal or family problems--43 per cent being worried about family finances, etc.; 30 per cent about personal problems such as marriage, etc.; 24 per cent about health and only 8 per cent about world problems, including the possibility of war. Moreover, less than 1 per cent of the American public volunteered any concern about the internal Communist threat. The concern over civil liberties appeared to be even lower. Only 20 out of almost 5,000 persons volunteered any mention of matters such as "the treatment of witnesses before committees in Washington, challenges to the loyalty of

April 20, 1955

educators and scientists, local vigilante action, etc."

Selected community leaders were also interviewed to determine how they might differ from the public-at-large. The survey showed that these leaders were more concerned than the public-at-large with political problems and the possibility of war, "but they were only slightly more concerned over Communists and the general area of civil liberties."

As indicated above, very few people spontaneously expressed anxiety about the internal Communist menace. However, when they were asked a direct question "How great a danger do you feel that American Communists are at the present time?" the following results were obtained:

"A very great danger.....	19%
A great danger.....	24%
Some danger.....	38%
Hardly any danger.....	9%
No danger.....	2%
No opinion.....	8%!"

When asked why they thought American Communists were dangerous, answers fell into three groups: 8 per cent mentioned Communist espionage; 8 per cent, Communist sabotage; and 28 per cent mentioned "'Communist ideas' which would convert others."

Professor Stouffer, commenting on these points, said that he was surprised when he first analysed these results, namely that three times as many people mentioned Communist ideas as mentioned espionage. He commented that questioning showed that many Americans suspected "'Communist teachers' in schools and colleges" and that some think "that there is wholesale conversion to communism in labor unions and among Federal employees (despite the very active measures taken against Communist infiltration by labor unions and the Federal government)."

The next question asked was what kind of ideas the Communists were believed to be spreading. The most frequently mentioned ones were "against religion" (24%); "Government ownership of property" (18%); "abolition of class distinctions" (18%).

Professor Stouffer comments that "the religious issue, indeed, may be one of the strongest elements in that series of pressures and anxieties which is called 'anti-intellectualism.' This is not a new phenomenon in American history: Let us not forget the Scopes 'monkey trial' in Tennessee...But today, the American teacher,

April 20, 1955

preacher or writer who voices an unpopular view can find himself branded not merely a 'heretic'--but also a 'traitor.' This joining of unorthodox opinion with treason gives enormous power to the forces of conformity, and it presents peculiarly complicated problems to those concerned with civil liberties."

The question was asked what the people think a Communist actually is. Only 3 per cent said they had ever known a person who admitted he was a Communist; another 10 per cent said they had known somebody they thought might be a Communist. When asked why they so thought, some of the answers received were:

"He would not attend church and talked against God;"

"I saw a map of Russia on a wall in his home;"

"He brought a lot of foreign-looking people into his home;"

"I just know. But I wouldn't know how to say how I know."

Stouffer uses these examples to illustrate "how loosely many Americans use the label 'Communist'--simply as a convenient synonym for 'that which I dislike or distrust.' The implications to a free society are not to be dismissed lightly."

In answer to the question as to whether the person did or did not feel as free to speak his own mind as he used to, 87 per cent replied "Yes"; 13 per cent "No."

In conclusion, Professor Stouffer points out that "American freedoms seem to be 'taken for granted.' Only when the air over a city is polluted by smog, or drought cuts off the water supply, or when civil rights are dramatically and visibly put in jeopardy, could one expect a wide and overt arousal of public opinion."

Stouffer also points out that, according to the survey, "the internal Communist threat is not felt as a personal threat. Like organized crime, communism is something people read about and talk about and even sometimes get angry about. But a picture of the average American as a person with the jitters about 'Reds,' or trembling lest he find a Communist under the bed, is clearly nonsense." At the end of the article Professor Stouffer points out that in the next article a survey would analyze American opinion "as it relates to free speech, the rights of nonconformists, the role of the FBI and the whole complicated and interesting area of tolerance."

April 20, 1955

"How the People Feel About
Communism And Civil Liberties"
(April 5, 1955, Issue of "Look")

This article, which is Part II, reflects that, according to the survey, "local community leaders rally much more firmly to the principles of civil liberties than does the public-at-large." For example, the question was asked that if a person wanted to make a speech against churches and religion should he be allowed to speak? In response 37 per cent of the public replied in the affirmative while 64 per cent of the leaders replied in the affirmative. Another question concerned whether an individual whose loyalty had been questioned before a Congressional Committee, but who swore under oath he had never been a Communist, should he be allowed to make a speech. Here, again, a higher percentage of the community leaders interviewed replied in the affirmative (87 per cent) as compared to the public-at-large (70 per cent). Professor Stouffer commented that, according to the survey, "a man accused of being a Communist is granted a greater degree of freedom to talk than is a man opposed to religion (70% as against 37%)."

From the various questions asked, Professor Stouffer constructed a statistical "scale" to measure "tolerance." (Tolerance is here defined as willingness to protect the rights of people who hold "offbeat" ideas.) The results obtained from such a scale reflect, among other things, the following:

1. Community leaders are more tolerant than the public-at-large.
2. Younger people are more tolerant than older people.
3. The better the education, the higher the degree of tolerance.
4. Heads of patriotic groups (like the DAR and the American Legion) tend to be less willing to tolerate nonconformists than other community leaders (lawyers, publishers, et cetera).
5. Veterans were found in the "more tolerant" group more often than the average person-- 43 per cent to 31 per cent.

April 20, 1955

6. Veterans who are members of the American Legion or Veterans of Foreign Wars are somewhat less tolerant than those associated with no organization.
7. World War II veterans are more likely to be tolerant than World War I veterans.
8. Rural people are less tolerant than city people--even when of the same age and schooling.
9. The Far West is more tolerant than the East and the Middle West. The South is least tolerant.
10. Women are less tolerant (of nonconformists) than men--regardless of area and at all educational levels.
11. Women are less interested in politics (and less interested people are generally less tolerant).
12. Churchgoers are less tolerant towards nonconformists (or suspected nonconformists) than nonchurchgoers--even on issues not involving religion.

The question was asked should a Communist be fired from his job as a high school teacher? A college teacher? A store clerk? In each case the public-at-large registered a higher percentage of answers as "yes"--high school teacher (91 per cent, public; 89 per cent, leaders); college teacher (89 per cent, public; 86 per cent, leaders); store clerk (68 per cent, public; 51 per cent, leaders). Of the public-at-large group, 51 per cent said an admitted Communist should be put in jail while only 27 per cent of the community leaders held this view.

Professor Stouffer, in conclusion, pointed out that people "have fed upon vague and distorted information about Communists. Many show little or no awareness of the harmful effects upon our own freedom of measures taken in response to the Communist issue. On point after point, local community leaders are clearer and firmer about basic civil liberties than is the public-at-large--even though the leaders' indifference to certain aspects of our freedom may be surprising in some cases. Perhaps our leaders are becoming increasingly aware of the need to protect the American heritage."

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

April 20, 1955

The author emphasizes that it is impossible to read through the survey results without coming to the conclusion "that most of the seemingly intolerant people are good, wholesome Americans. Many of them simply draw normal inferences from premises which are false because the information on which their premises are based is false. (For example, the premise that 'freethinkers' are Communists.)"

Stouffer feels that "the very remoteness of the problems of civil liberties from personal experience makes the problem of free speech in a time of crisis difficult to convey to the popular mind. . . . Because of the subtlety of a slow erosion of civil liberties, dramatic presentation is difficult--as difficult as it was for years to dramatize the erosion of American topsoil. A few handfuls of loam here, a few there, washed down our rivers do not make headlines."

The article is concluded in these words: "The evils of communism are great; the disregard of civil rights is no less dangerous to our freedom; the two are so intertwined that their disentanglement cannot be easy. Yet disentangled they must be if our people are to understand what Americanism really means: that freedom lies precisely in defending the rights of people whose views we may hate or fear; that there is an enormous difference between unorthodox ideas and treasonable acts; that dissent is not synonymous with disloyalty; that only through criticism and controversy can freedom really be preserved; that to restrict the legal freedom of one person (even of a man whose ideas we detest) is to strike a secret blow at the freedom of all of us. The Founding Fathers knew all this and put it squarely into the Bill of Rights. How many of us have forgotten it?"

The results of the survey, according to "Look" magazine, will be explained in a book by Professor Stouffer entitled "Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties." A copy of each of the two articles is being attached.

The FBI is not mentioned in the second article, although the first article indicated that it would be.

W

Notice

Scan Front

Document (s) cannot be scanned

Description
Newspaper

Dated: 1955

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY 2088C/SL/lop

REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE • PART I

By SAMUEL A. STOUFFER

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

examine the original materials on which this article is based, and see the detail with which the information is recorded, the frank outpouring of problems and opinions to a skilled interviewer—the illuminating words of a storekeeper in Nebraska, a college boy in Wyoming, a semi-literate grandmother in a mountain cabin in the Alleghenies, a lawyer in Georgia, an editor in Maine.

This article is based on one of the most searching public-opinion surveys ever conducted in the United States. Under a \$125,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic, the study was planned by Frank Stanton, president, CBS; Logan Wilson, president, University of Texas; Roscoe Drummond, New York *Herald Tribune*; Porter Chandler, attorney; Prof. Paul Lazarsfeld, Columbia; Prof. Alexander Leighton, Cornell. I was privileged to serve as chairman. The interpretations here are entirely my own.

What is on the mind of the American people? What are they thinking about, worried about, concerned about? We asked our cross section of Americans:

“What kinds of things do you worry about most?”

An overwhelming majority answered *solely* in terms of personal or family problems (health, finances, employment, children's welfare, etc.)

43% were worried about family finances, wages, expenses, etc.

30% mentioned personal problems such as marriage difficulties, children's

The concern of Americans over civil liberties seems to be the most frequent. Only 20 out of almost 5,000 persons volunteered any matter (the prominent in the news) such as the treatment of war prisoners. Did the administration challenge to the loyalty of educators, public-at-large? Here, action, etc.

Personal and family: Economic problems	43%	43%
Personal and family: Health problems	24%	24%
Other personal and family problems	30%	38%
World problems, including war	8%	22%
Other national and local problems	6%	25%
Communists or civil liberties	1%	5%
Never worry	9%	11%

(Percentages add up to over 100% because each person could give many answers.)

Community leaders were definitely more concerned than the public-at-large with political problems and the possibility of war; but they were only slightly more concerned over Communists and the general area of civil liberties.

Our interviewers asked a directly pointed question, deliberately designed to cue people into expressing opinions about political problems:

“Are there other problems you worry or are concerned about, especially political or world problems?”

52% in our cross section said they had nothing to add!

The number who *now* expressed a concern about world affairs rose from 8% to 30%, even though their concern often seemed to be expressed matter-of-factly: “Oh, yes, I’d say I’m concerned about what’s going on in the world.”



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

END PARTIALLY SCANNED
DOCUMENT

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

file 7-1

Fear in the Colleges

Some of the Ford money is being spent on a survey of "fear in the colleges," conducted by the Hutchins-Ford Fund for the Republic. It may be taken for granted, well in advance of the publication of the findings of Dr. Hutchins and his investigators, that they will find "deplorable conditions."

The shopworn phrase, "academic freedom," appears frequently in their report. Even if it may be presented to make the American people believe college professors cower in the classrooms, look furtively about the campus when they leave for their homes to see if they are being followed by a sinister stranger.

Dr. Hutchins himself also proved he is not afraid to sponsor "causes," with attendant publicity. He is fearless in his criticism of things he believes need correction as Saint Germain.

Dr. Hutchins apparently has never been afraid to discuss the subject he wants to discuss, represents the opinion of most college professors. This unidentified teacher is "a distinguished professor at a large and distinguished American university." He wrote in part that a "well-meaning young lady spent almost three hours interviewing me, while others on her 'team' were spending the same amount of time at interviewing my departmental colleagues."

The young lady asked her questions and I answered them. I determined to find out the "fear" she was looking for. She found it, and I am particularly interested in how.

an excellent editorial.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 00281517/08

Beaumont ENTERPRISE
Wednesday, 5/11/55
Beaumont, Texas

59 MAY 23 1955

INDEXED - 93

RECORDED - 93
EX-126

MAY 20 1955
70

7-95

The professor thought most of her questions were simply ridiculous. I am sure," he continues, "she left my office considerably disappointed. It so happens that I am not afraid of anything, have had no restraints or restrictions of any kind placed upon me in any way by anyone here or elsewhere. The whole performance was rather futile and boring but this does not blind me to the fact that it was a great waste of Ford money and of my time."

The main purpose of those who direct and take part in paid research is to prove that they are not chasing a will-o'-the-wisp, therefore earn their pay, and that the darksome conditions they inquire into actually exist, are not a figment of the imagination of somebody with a large amount of money to spend.

[So in due time the American people may expect to be told, in a sensational manner as possible, that there is no such thing any more as academic freedom in most if not all American colleges and universities, that professors do not dare to indulge in the luxury of free inquiry and free discussion because, if they are not afraid of losing their lives, they assuredly are afraid of losing their jobs.]

Office Memo. *um* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 5/16/55

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

George Sokolsky sent me the attached letter which John Cogley, Director of the Entertainment Project of the Fund for the Republic, is sending out throughout the country asking exceedingly pertinent questions on the reaction of advertising sponsors to retaining artists who have been connected with front organizations. George feels that there is bound to be a hue and outcry on this.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

Enclosure

LBN:fc
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-89 BY 2088 STJ/ag

Handwritten:
E. F. C. by
min. room
will be

Handwritten:
note stress on "political"
when subversion & communism
is not political but a criminal
movement to destroy by force &
violence the Govt of the U. S.

RECORDED - 17
INDEXED - 17

MAY 24 1955

60 MAY 31 1955 F393

From
GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY
300 West End Avenue
New York 23, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8(SJ)198

I hope this
may interest
you.
Mph. Anthony

C O P Y

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 East 54th Street
New York 22, N. Y.
Plaza 1-3170

20 April, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 288(SJ)109

Dear Sir:

The Fund for the Republic is sponsoring a study of employment practices in the entertainment industry. Rumors and charges of a political "blacklist", the publicity given the Jean Muir case, the publication of Red Channels and similar listings of "controversial" personalities in the entertainment field, among other things, prompted the officers of the Fund to initiate a full-scale study of the situation. A staff of journalists and researchers was assembled and has been working on the project for several months.

We are eager to produce as forthright and balanced a report as possible. It is in the interest of doing so that we are writing to you. Your cooperation would add greatly to the significance of the study and would be deeply appreciated.

In the radio-television field it seems important that we present accurately the general position major sponsors take with regard to the employment of artists. Such questions as the following seem to be pertinent:

- (1) Does your organization hold that certain political criteria should be met by artists whom you engage, i.e. would you disapprove of hiring an artist
 - (a) named as a Communist by a Government agency?
 - (b) one who was an "unfriendly witness" before a governmental investigating body?
 - (c) one who stood on the Fifth Amendment before such a body?
 - (d) one who has been listed in such private organs as Counterattack, Red Channels, Firing Line?
 - (e) an artist who in the public mind, or at least before a goodly section of the public, is deemed "controversial"?
 - (f) any other category?

*copies made
for LBN, Jr. 5/14/55*

- (2) If such criteria are to be met, does your organization leave the application of them to the advertising agency and the network or do you take an active interest?
- (3) Is it your experience that the employment of "controversial" personalities hurts the sale of products?
- (4) Are you satisfied with the way the question has been handled to date?

Aside from specific answers to these questions we would be very grateful for any other comments on what is surely a difficult and admittedly a delicate situation.

In preparing our report we will have to deal with the problems facing sponsors. We will of course be able to offer a clearer presentation if you are good enough to cooperate. Our research has resulted in fairly detailed knowledge of the total situation. What we are looking for is not so much specific information as a statement of your policy - a policy in which the public has a lively and, in our opinion, legitimate interest.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

JOHN COGLEY
Director
Entertainment Project

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-391697)

DATE: 5/24/55

FROM : SAC, New York (62-11509)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNINGALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8 BTJ/afp

Attached hereto, as of possible interest to the Bureau, is a Photostat of a survey letter from the above organization dated May 9, 1955. This letter is addressed to BEVERLY SALIE, 150 East 50th St., New York, NY, and is self-explanatory.

BEVERLY SALIE, 150 East 50th St., NYC, is the operator of a booking agency for talent in the entertainment field and telephonically contacted that New York Office on 5/12/55, stating she had received this letter, which appeared to her to be on the subversive side. She subsequently forwarded the letter to the NYO.

The original of this letter is being maintained in the files of the NYO.

John X. Coyle

Director

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

ENCL.

Attachment

1 - NY (100-80374) (RADIO & TV) (7-2)

RECORDED - 23

INDEXED - 23

2 MAY 25 1955

JUN 2 1955

WASEO

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

1 EAST 84TH STREET

NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLAZA 1-3170

9 May, 1955

Beverly Salie
150 E. 50th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Salie,

The Fund for the Republic is sponsoring a study of employment practices in the entertainment industry. Rumors and charges of a political "blacklist", the publicity given the Jean Muir case, the publication of Red Channels and similar listings of "controversial" personalities in the entertainment field, among other things, prompted the officers of the Fund to initiate a full-scale study of the situation. A staff of journalists and researchers was assembled and has been working on the project for several months.

We are eager to produce as forthright and balanced a report as possible. It is in the interest of doing so that we are writing to you. Your cooperation would add greatly to the significance of the study and would be deeply appreciated.

In the radio-television field it seems important that we present accurately and fairly the general position taken by talent agencies. Such questions as the following seem to be pertinent:

- (1) Is there any frank and open admission made to you that certain of your clients are, for political reasons, unemployable - or are you dependent, rather, on rumor, private information and other haphazard sources?
- (2) Supposing that you learn a client is unemployable, are there any established procedures which you can follow to clear-up his problem? Is it your feeling that employment criteria are stable or are they constantly shifting? Do there ever to be any generally accepted criteria?
- (3) We would be grateful for your opinion of
 - (a) the effect "blacklisting" has had on the industry as a whole
 - (b) your evaluation of the manner in which the question of political screening has been handled to date?

- (4) We would value your opinion, too, on the whole question of political screening. Would you, for instance, agree that some criteria other than competence be applied - i.e., would you disapprove of the industry's employing an artist who was
- (a) named as a Communist by a Government agency?
 - (b) one who was an "unfriendly witness" before a governmental investigating body?
 - (c) one who stood on the Fifth Amendment before such a body?
 - (d) one who has been listed in such private organs as Counterattack, Red Channels, Firing Line?
 - (e) an artist who in the public mind, or at least before a goodly section of the public, is deemed "controversial"?
 - (f) any other category?

What we are looking for is not so much specific information as a statement of your impressions and attitudes toward a phenomenon which we feel transcends the specific concerns of the radio-television industry.

We look forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely,

John Cogley

JOHN COGLEY
Director
Entertainment Project

~~SECRET~~

1 - orig. and 1.
1 - yellow 100-391691
1 - yellow 101-1298 []
May 27, 1955

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DIRECTOR, FBI
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

- 1 - yellow 100-407113 (Stouffer)
- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - []

b6
b7C

On May 2, 1955, Mr. Neil Wettermen, an official of the Protect America League of Greater Cincinnati, furnished this Bureau information concerning activity of the captioned group which may be of interest to you. According to information furnished in December, 1954, by Mr. Earl W. Barr, Chairman of the Americanism Committee of the American Legion Post # 56, Cincinnati, Ohio, the Protect America League of Greater Cincinnati was recently started by Mr. Wettermen as an anti-Communist group of private citizens who are concerned about the Communist influence in America and who desire to combat this influence through a community educational program. (105-36077-1, 2)

Mr. Wettermen stated that the captioned group had sent two books to the United States District Court Judges with the compliments of the Fund for the Republic. The books are, "Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties," by Samuel A. Stouffer, and "Grand Inquest, The Story of Congressional Investigations," by Telford Taylor. Wettermen stated that it was the opinion of the Federal District Judge who turned these books over to him that if they were read by the Judges who heard cases involving Communists they could very easily sway the opinions of these Judges to be lenient on the Communists. Wettermen did not identify this Federal Judge.

Information concerning Dr. Samuel Andrew Stouffer, Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, and an announcement of a grant by the Fund for the Republic to a group headed by Stouffer for a survey of American attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties was furnished to you in my memorandum of January 18, 1955. The results of this survey, which was conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup poll) and the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago were released in April, 1955, in the above-captioned book. Portions of the results of this survey have also been carried in recent issues of "U.S. News and World Report" and "Look" magazines.

Concerning Taylor's book, which was published by Simon and Schuster, Inc., in 1955, Wettermen stated that it takes apart and discredits the Congressional Investigating Committees which concentrated on inquiries in the subversive field, particularly deriding the chairmen of these committees. You will recall that during December, 1953, and January, 1954, Taylor received considerable publicity resulting from his criticism of Congressional investigations, particularly those conducted by Senator McCarthy, and that Senator McCarthy replied by questioning Taylor's loyalty and stated that he would subpoena Taylor to testify before his committee hearings. Wettermen stated that Taylor was in charge of prosecutions in the War Criminal Trials in Germany after World War II and since that time he has made a particular effort to defend Communists in

- Tolson
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- Nichols
- Belmont
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Nease
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

EFT:dje
(13)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Attorney General

trials throughout the United States. He said that Taylor is now defending Robert M. Metcalf, Professor at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, on charges of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (105-36077-2; 101-1298)

In 1938 an applicant-type investigation was conducted of Telford Taylor, then an applicant for the position of Special Assistant to the Attorney General. Taylor was employed by the United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce from 1936 to 1938 as assistant to Max Lowenthal, then counsel for that committee. Lowenthal described Taylor as one of the ablest Government counsels in the U.S. Government service. A Hatch Act investigation was conducted of Taylor in 1942, predicated on the report that his name was in the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization, which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Taylor denied he had ever been a member of, contributed money to, or attended meetings of the American Peace Mobilization. (77-10183; 101-1298)

By memorandum dated January 29, 1954, a copy of the report of Special Agent Arthur K. Hendrix, dated January 22, 1954, at New York, containing a summary of the information then available in FBI files concerning Taylor, a Brigadier General in the U.S. Army Reserve, was furnished to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III. Briefly, that report included the following information concerning Taylor:

Taylor admitted membership from 1933 to 1942 in the National Lawyers Guild, which was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Taylor was reported to have been in contact or to have associated with the following individuals who have either been members of, or are closely associated with, the Communist Party: Alger Hiss, Joseph Barnes, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Simon Gerson, Harry Bridges, Richard Casely, and Mary Jane Kenney. In 1946 Taylor's name was referred to M. A. Vavilov, formerly a Counselor at the Soviet Embassy, as possessing the qualifications for some job in which Vavilov was interested. (101-1298-27, 29)

In 1941 Representative Dondore of Michigan made charges at Taylor's staff at Nuremberg, was "penetrated by left-wingers." He stated that Taylor was one of Max Lowenthal's "stooges." Representative Dondore charged in the House of Representatives that Lowenthal, whom he described as the writer of a book smear against his Bureau and an associate of Communists and fellow travelers, was responsible for a plot to curb Government prosecution of Communists.

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Attorney General

In January, 1958, Kurt Fonger, when interviewed by Special Agents of this Bureau, stated that he would like to contact General Telford Taylor who was in charge of the second Nuremberg trials. Both Fonger and Otto Verber were on Taylor's staff when he was a prosecutor at the War Crimes Trials in Nuremberg, Germany, from 1945 to 1948. Fonger and Verber were arrested on January 14, 1958, by U.S. Military authorities in Vienna, Austria, and were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage in June, 1958.

(101-1298-29)

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

NOTE:

The above-mentioned books by Stouffer and Taylor are available at the Bureau Library. Stouffer's book was reviewed by the Central Research Section. The book noted that, according to the survey, the American public would "especially respect" the opinion of the Director on how to handle Communists in the U.S. and also indicated "public confidence in the FBI is quite high" but the author suggests that there is room for improvement in that confidence. The Director and the FBI are mentioned several times in Taylor's book. These references are in connection with the McCarthy hearing and the FBI letter which McCarthy introduced at that hearing. Another reference to the FBI reflected that at the trial of Judith Coplon, "it was charged (and not denied) that Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, by wire tapping, had intercepted telephone communications between Miss Coplon and her counsel." Taylor also stated that the Attorney General and the Director publicly condemned outlawing the Communist Party as a poor security measure. None of the references in the book are deemed an attack on the Director or the FBI.

(100-407113-18; 101-1298-44)

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 3, 1955

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The Vice President
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8BJJ/af

My dear Mr. Vice President:

I thought you might be interested in the
attached excerpt from the radio broadcast of Mr.
Fulton Lewis, Jr., on May 23, 1955, concerning the
Fund for the Republic.

Sincerely yours,

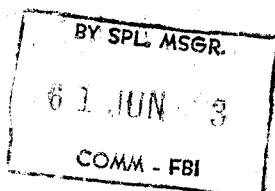
Edgar

NOTE: A few changes to correct spellings, etc. have
been made in Mr. Lewis' manuscript, but his punctuation,
etc., have been left intact.

RECORDED-12

BCS:vll
(9)

Tolson _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



1 JUN 6 1955

JUN 7 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *per [unclear]*DATE: May 27, 1955 *JB*FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
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 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

DC

Russell Turner of Fulton Lewis' office advised that he had just received a letter from Federal Judge McCullough, Portland, Oregon, advising the Fund of the Republic had now sent out a reprint of an article on confidential informants and paid witnesses from the current issue of Harper's Magazine by Kovere, with the comment that the Fund of the Republic was sure trying to get the judges here.

Thompson
W. G. Sullivan
AD

cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 LBN:arm
 (4)

✓ *no* *confidential*

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-24-89 BY 88573/afp

file 100-391697

RECORDED-99
 INDEXED-99

EX-125

100-391697-100

12 JUN 7 1955

7 177
 53 JUN 9 1955

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Attorney General

June 2, 1955

Director, FBI

FORD FOUNDATION

RECORDED-16
EX-100

100-391697-101

I thought you would like to know that we have recently learned from a reportedly authentic source that the Ford Foundation approached Georgetown University and offered several hundred thousand dollars for the university to take charge of a project designed to look into the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz and Whittaker Chambers, the objective being to have a Catholic school sponsor delving into the testimony of these anti-Communists. It is understood that Georgetown University definitely turned the project down.

This source added that there was a good chance that the Ford Foundation might make an approach to some other school or university.

cc - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

cc - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 2082/51/98

RECEIVED READING ROOM
JUN 6 10 14 AM '55
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FCS:mmh

RECEIVED - BOARDMAN
JUN 3 5 13 PM '55

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JUN 1 1955

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

DATE: May 27, 1955

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Belmont _____

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Tele. Room _____

Holloman _____

Gandy _____

At 5:50 p.m. tonight, Ben Mandel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee advised Mr. McGuire confidentially that he learned today from an absolutely authentic source in a position to know that the Ford Foundation approached Georgetown University and offered several hundred thousand dollars for the university to take charge of a project designed to look into the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, Budenz and Whittaker Chambers, the objective being to have a Catholic school sponsor delving into the testimony of these anti-Communists. Mandel stated he understands Georgetown University definitely turned the project down.

Mandel advised that these people apparently will not stop and since they have the money, there is a good chance that they might make an approach to some other school or university and that institute might not be alert to the real meaning of such a project. Mandel observed that if some writer or columnist jumped on this item and exposed it, it would serve the purpose of alerting everyone as to just what the Ford Foundation is doing.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

JJM:arm
(4)

RECORDED-16

INDEXED-16

100-391697-101

EX-100

I suggest memo.
to AS and Rogers
re above also

6-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-89 BY 88151 Jap

JUN 19 1955

60 JUN 10 1955

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

6/4/55
Letter to AG
JED

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *Handwritten initials*

DATE: June 3, 1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT *Handwritten initials*SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
WILBUR HUGH FERRY, VICE PRESIDENT

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Belmont	_____
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Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson dated June 1, 1955, advised that, according to Ben Mandel, Wilbur Ferry was actually running the captioned organization and suggested that the Domestic Intelligence Division check our files concerning Ferry.

There is attached a summary memorandum dated January 5, 1955, concerning Wilbur Hugh Ferry, also known as "Ping" Ferry, Vice President of the Fund, which contains all pertinent information in Bureau files regarding Ferry. By memorandum dated January 19, 1955, pertinent information concerning Ferry was furnished to the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General Rogers. According to the December 22, 1954, issue of "The New York Times," Ferry stated that he and the Fund's President considered the \$100,000 grant of the Fund for the Republic to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for study of the Federal loyalty-security programs as "the No. 1 priority program" in the Fund's field.

(62-102013-2, 3)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

EX-100-391697

BFB:lmh

(7)

- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Internal Security
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY *Handwritten initials*

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ENCLOSURE
51

EX-125

RECORDED
INDEXED - 51

16 JUN 7 1955

EX-125

60 JUN 13 1955

3
B

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 8835 Jaf

January 5, 1955

WILBUR HUGH FERRY, aka
"Ping" Ferry

Wilbur H. Ferry

Age 43 (1954)

The Bureau has conducted no investigation concerning W. H. Ferry who was identified in the December 22, 1954, issue of the "New York Times" as the Vice President of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., a Ford Foundation subsidiary, 1 East 54th Street, New York City. It is to be noted that the Fund for the Republic, Inc., according to the above issue of the "New York Times" awarded a \$100,000 grant to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for the purpose of appointing a special committee to examine the Federal loyalty-security programs.

Bureau files reflect that on February 10, 1945, a confidential informant advised the Bureau that Wilbur H. Ferry, aka "Ping" Ferry, of the Political Action Committee of the CIO (PAC-CIO), was very close to the national officers of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC) and was a member of the Advisory Committee of publicity men who had met with officials of the JAFRC to assist in their mapping out a national fund-raising campaign at that time. The JAFRC has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (NYT 221; 100-7061-852, 923p. 15, 18)

On November 6, 1944, the above source advised that Sam Moscovitz, publicity director for the JAFRC, had contacted Ferry in order to have Ferry obtain a dinner speaker for them. (100-7061-710)

By way of background information concerning Ferry the August 30, 1954, issue of "Time" magazine in reporting the activities of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., gave the following background information concerning W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund: W. H. ("Ping") Ferry, age 43, son of Hugh J. Ferry, former chairman of the board of the Packard Car Company. Ferry, a former teacher and newspaperman, worked with the International Labor Organization, Office of Price Administration, and the PAC-CIO during the New Deal days. In 1945 Ferry joined Manhattan's public relations firm of Earl Newsom and Company where his duties consisted of writing speeches for Henry Ford II and "think work" for the Ford Foundation.

ACT:mn
(10)

1 Mr. Nichols
1 Mr. Boardman
1 Mr. Belmont
1 Mr. Stanley
1 Mr. Young
1 Mr. Baumgardner
1 Sec Tickler
1 Mr. Branigan
1 yellow

62-102013-5

In addition to the above, Bureau files reflect that Ferry's residence as of October, 1951, was 34~~8~~ Home Place, Bronxville, New York, New York. (100-368336-5; 123-11699-10,11)

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: W. H. PerrySupervisor PC YoungRoom 7631

R#

Date 12/27

Searcher

Initial 12/24

Rec'd 1:30 pm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SERIAL

DATE 7-24-89 BY SG-8057 JEPNP ✓ 57-407-362NP ✓ 100-10355-396 Encl. #12NP ✓ Subversive Publications"The Southern Patriot"p. 3 April, 1954W. H. (Ping) PerryNP ✓ 57-407 241NP ✓ 39-915-ANew York Times
11-3-44NP ✓ 100-1525167✓ 100-7061923P. H. PerrySewelliam
F. Perry79-3026P. PerryN P

4-22

Subj: Willmer H. Ferry

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: PC Young

Misc: _____

R# _____ Date 12/30/54 Searcher Initial _____FILE NUMBERSERIAL

LT	100-7061	923
✓	SI 977	1710
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	Willmer Hugh Ferry	
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	Willmer Ferry	
NI	✓ 91-168	
NP	✓ 57-407	362
✓	100-7061	852
	Willmer H. Ferry	
NP	✓ 57-407	362

Subj: Wilber Fering

Birthdate: _____ SUPV: PC Young

R# _____ Date 12/30/54 Searcher Initial _____

SERIAL

NR
Walker Hugh Ferry
NR

SAC, New York

August 22, 1955

Director, FBI

*(Only if discretion possible)

WILBUR HUGH FERRY
aka "PING" FERRY
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York
1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California
INFORMATION CONCERNING

You are instructed to make very discreet inquiries concerning the captioned individual, vice-president of the Fund for the Republic, in order that the Bureau may have complete background material on him. Offices receiving copies of this letter should check their files and newspaper morgues* for material concerning Ferry as well as other similar sources which may be checked discreetly. In addition, the Washington Field Office should check the Congressional hearings regarding the CIO-Political Action Committee (PAC) held a few years ago and the Library of Congress for any information concerning Ferry. Results of these inquiries should reach the Bureau, attention Liaison Section, not later than Friday, August 26, 1955.

Background information concerning Ferry as reflected in Bufiles is set forth below:

The 8/30/54 issue of "Time" magazine on page 40 states that Ferry, 43, was named in August, 1954, by Robert M. Hutchins, Fund president, to fill the newly created position of Fund vice-president and is stationed at the Fund's Manhattan office. Ferry was described as a former teacher and newsman who worked with the International Labor Organization, Office of Price Administration, and the CIO-PAC during New Deal days. In 1945 he joined the Earl Newsom Company, public relations firm, 597 Madison Avenue, New York City, where his duties included writing speeches for Henry Ford II and doing "think work" for the Ford Foundation. Ferry was still employed by the Earl Newsom Company in 1951, at which time his home address was 34 Home Place, Bronxville, New York. The 1955 Westchester telephone directory lists Wilbur H. Ferry at Central Drive, Bronxville, New York. Ferry is the son of Hugh J. Ferry, president, treasurer, and director of the Packard Motor Car Company, Detroit, Michigan, who was a Special Service Contact of the Detroit Office from December, 1950, until December 15, 1951. He resides at 344 Neff Road, Grosse Pointe, Michigan. (100-391697-102; 123-11699-10; 67-460065)

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Nichols _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

1 - SAC, Washington Field

1 - SAC, Detroit

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-26-89 BY SP8 BJS/afp

Letter to SAC, New York

New York letters dated 11/15/44 and 2/12/45 and report of SA James P. O'Neil dated 4/9/45 at New York City, regarding the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC) reflect that informant advised on 11/6/44 that Sam Moscowitz, publicity director for the JAFRC, contacted Ferry, publicity director of the CIO-PAC, in an effort to have Ferry obtain a dinner speaker for him. On 2/10/45 this informant advised that Ferry was very close to the national officers of the JAFRC and was a member of the Advisory Committee of publicity men who had met with officials of the JAFRC to assist in their mapping out a national fund-raising campaign at that time. The JAFRC has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(NYT 221; 100-7061-710, 852, 923 pgs. 15, 18)

51801

The Attorney General

June 8, 1955

RECORDED - 17 Director, FBI

EX-112

100-341697-103
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

I thought you would be interested in the attached excerpt from the broadcast of radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., on May 25, 1955, concerning the Fund for the Republic.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. William P. Rogers (with copy of enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

NOTE: A few changes to correct spellings, etc., have been made in Mr. Lewis' manuscript, but his punctuation, etc., have been left intact.

FCS:ull
(9)

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66 JUN 15 1955

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COMM - FBI

Handwritten signature

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 27, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

I am attaching hereto a copy of Fulton Lewis' broadcast
 of May 23, 1955, with reference to the Fund of the Republic.

cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

Enclosure
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 (4)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-24-89 BY 2080 JLD/SP
 EX-112

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23 JUN 9 1955

Send copies to A. G.
 Rogers & the U. S. R.

LIAISON

6/3/55
 Letters to
 AG & V.P. Nichols
 KS.

K.

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EXCERPT FROM FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST, MAY 23, 1955

Re: Fund For the Republic

...

Now, I have tonight some interesting information on the new activities of the highly-suspect-and-getting-more-so Fund For the Republic, which I think bear your very careful attention, because this is a new kind of curve ball from the left wing, and it is among the boldest pitches that has yet been made.

I have received personal letters from two Federal Judges, informing me that they have received, from the Fund For the Republic, 3 books recently, which are hardly the normal run of judicial reading, and very obviously are being distributed by the foundation for ideological propaganda purposes. Certainly federal judges are able to take care of themselves, and do not need supervision in their reading selections..... I certainly am not implying anything along that line..... I am suggesting, however, that this is a rather obvious effort on the part of the Fund for the Republic, to slip its own indoctrination in on the members of the Federal Bench, and the nature of the books throws a further corroborating light on the Fund For the Republic, and what its real purpose is.

I checked with at least one additional federal judge in Washington, today, and found that he too received the three books, so I assumed that they were sent to all of the Federal Judiciary, inasmuch as the first two tips came from widely separated parts of the nation.

Now, as to the identity of the three books. The first one is by a man by the name of Sam Stouffer, and the title is "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties"-- and in content, it is exactly what you'd expect it to be from that of title..... an attack on the government security program and on the performance of that program generally. It's a sort of compilation survey of all the attacks which have been made on the security program in the past.

ALAN The second is entitled "Government by Investigation" and it is written by Allen Barth, who is the chief editorial writer for the left wing Washington Post, which has been in the national forefront of the attack on investigations into communism, staunch defender of Alger Hiss, William Remington and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and so forth. The Washington Post has been called the "Washington Edition of the Daily Worker" because of its editorial policy, as constructed by Allen Barth.

ALAN The third is the classic of all of them,.... entitled "Grand Inquest" and it is the story of Brig. General Telford Taylor, who came into the pink spotlight during the Nuremberg Trials, and came further in when he became the central figure

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in the shadowy organization known as the Committee for an Effective Congress a year ago-- only to disappear into the haze when the elections and the McCarthy investigations were over.

By way of introducing this Telford Taylor to you, he is a graduate of Harvard Law School in the era of Felix Frankfurter, and then with the Department of Interior briefly in 1933 when the Roosevelt New Deal came into power. He then moved over, in 1934 to the Agricultural ~~Agricultural~~ Adjustment Administration under Henry Wallace, in the days when the Harold Ware communist cell was being organized there. In 1941, he was general counsel of the Federal Communications Commission, when J. Edgar Hoover requested that all radio communications operators in the merchant marine be fingerprinted, for the FBI files, whereupon he immediately recommended against it, on the grounds that it might upset their morale, and the then chairman of the FCC, James Fly, upheld the recommendation and blocked the FBI from getting the fingerprints.

In 1942 he went into the army as a major at the age of 34; 5 months later he was made a lieutenant colonel and 6 months later he was promoted to full colonel and sent to London in the Intelligence Service. In 1946, the year after the close of the war, he was sent to Nuremberg as chief prosecutor of the war crimes trials, his conduct of which drew open and public denunciation by a Judge of the Iowa State Supreme Court. While he was in Nuremberg, he picked up a group of associations which brought heavy public criticism later on.

He was an early member of the National Lawyers Guild, which has been described as the foremost legal bulwark of the communist party, but the important angle of his membership was that in 1940, when many of the original members of the guild began to find out what it really was and got out of it, publicly or privately, Telford Taylor remained in it, and as far as I know he still is a member. I know this much: He is listed as a member of the National Board of the Americans for Democratic Action---the ADA-- and a year ago and previously he served as defense counsel for Harry Bridges, of the West Coast Longshoremen's Union, in the government's efforts to deport Bridges to Australia.

I know also that as of last August--and nothing has come out since that I have seen to the contrary--there was, on his file in the United States Civil Service Commission, what is known as a flag. That is, a warning tab with a code number, and as long as that tab is on the file of an individual, he cannot hold any position of the civil service of the United States Government. The code number in his case, meant "Reason for action: unresolved question of loyalty."

Now, as I say, I'm not worried about Federal Judges reading this material, and perhaps it would be good for them to make a point of reading it. The consideration in my mind is the Fund For the Republic, and how they are permitted to get by with such activity as this.

After all, this Fund for the Republic is operating on a grant of 15 million dollars from the Ford Foundation, and the reason the Ford Foundation exists

is because in the setting up of it, the argument was used that the money in the Ford Foundation is money which is being dedicated to the entire public welfare... the entire public well and good. Therefore, all of that portion of the Ford Estate was tax free, so far as the estate taxes were concerned, and the income from the original Ford Foundation capital, mostly in the form of dividends on stock of the Ford Motor Company, is free of normal income tax.

Now if that is true, then the money actually belongs to all of the people of the United States; and if it does, the 15 million dollars that went to the Fund For the Republic belongs to all of the people of the United States. And if that is true, why is the 15 million dollars being used for any such purposes as it is?

From the time the Fund for the Republic was established, it has supported one questionable project after another, consistently. This--you remember--is the outfit that financed the circulation of Edward R. Murrow's one hour glorification of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, after he had been stripped of his security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission. This is the outfit that was first headed by Paul Hoffman of the Studebaker Company, and later by now Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey, and then by Robert M. Hutchins, the radical leftwing former President of the University of Chicago.

Here, if you please, is an attempt at political and ideological lobbying, through the Federal Judiciary of the Nation. As I say, a new twist. And as I further say, financed by money that really belongs to you and to me.

SAC, New York

6.1 June 7, 1955

51800

Director, FBI (100-391697)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING (Central Research)

ReBulet 5/11/55 re captioned matter. The Bureau has received several complimentary copies of referenced books, "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States," and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States"; therefore, you may discontinue your efforts to obtain these particular books.

The Bureau has a continuing interest in any future publications issued by the Fund for the Republic and copies should be obtained and forwarded to the Bureau, attention of the Central Research Section.

LLW:mjh
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